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Le Baron de Kalb

THE

LIFE OF JOHN KALB

MAJOR-GENERAL IN THE REVOLUTIONARY ARMY.

BY

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

In Deiner Brust sind Deines Schicksals Sterne. SCHILLER.

NEW YORK
HENRY HOLT AND COMPANY
1884

Entered, according to Act of Congress, in the year 1870,
By FRIEDRICH KAPP,
In the Clerk's Office of the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of New York.

PREFACE.

Congress having on February 19th, 1883, passed the resolution to carry out the vote of October 14th, 1780, to erect at Annapolis a monument in honor of General Kalb, I find the moment propitious to prepare for publication a book which I have long had by me. Besides I prefer publishing my researches in my own name to running the risk of seeing them adopted by others who do not even condescend to mention the source from which they have drawn their information.

I do not consider it out of place to submit this work to the American reader, as the necessary sequel to the life of FREDERICK WILLIAM VON STEUBEN, published in 1859. Kalb and Steuben taken together complete the design I had in view of detailing the participation of German generals in the establishment of American independence. Both of these men were noble specimens of the race from which they sprung, and under the most unfavorable auspices they have unfolded some of its finest qualities.

What first led me to an inquiry into Kalb's personal history was the mysterious twilight in which his memory was shrouded. Even the orthography of his name was uncertain. Some write it Kalbe, others Colbé, still others Kalb; Mr. Bancroft names Alsace as his native land, while Lord Stormond, the English ambassador, assigns him to Switzerland. The year of his birth varied between 1717 and 1732; one authority credits his military antecedents to the Prussian, another to the Austrian, a third to the French army. The French employed him as a secret political agent, the Americans occasionally took him for a French

spy, and even in the revolutionary war his appearance is meteoric, for he is rarely or never mentioned up to the moment of his heroic death on the field of Camden. Thus his image hovered in a romantic haze of the most opposite probabilities, all the more attractive by its contrast to the biography of Steuben, for which all the materials were found ready cut and dried with true Prussian exactitude. It affords me pleasure to say that my researches soon dispelled the mystery, and were rewarded with a very gratifying crop of historical discoveries, drawn from sources of which but one or two were previously known to the curious.

One word as to these fountain-heads. While at Washington in 1856, I was accidentally fortunate in making the acquaintance of John Carroll Brent, Esquire, who had for years represented the family of Kalb as their solicitor at the bar of Congress. To his kindness I am indebted for the address of the Viscountess d'Alzac, of Milon la Chapelle, Department Seine et Oise, the grand-daughter of Kalb, who is in possession of his posthumous writings. On preferring to this lady a request for permission to inspect and, if necessary, to copy the papers of her grandfather, I was favored with a letter from Mr. I. Nachtmann, a Polish refugee in consequence of the revolution of 1831. This gentleman, long in relations of intimacy with the family d'Alzac, had himself conceived the design of writing a life of Kalb, based upon the materials there at hand. He had progressed down to the year 1775, producing a work which followed implicitly the Milon authorities, less remarkable, perhaps, for discrimination than for completeness in details. A correspondence of several years resulted in the purchase by me of Mr. Nachtmann's MS., accompanied by copies of all papers of the general then in the possession of the family. It is hardly necessary to say that without these papers, and especially without Mr. Nachtmann's carefully prepared draught, it would have been impossible for me to have ac-

complished anything like a coherent narrative of Kalb's life and fortunes.

In citing these authorities I have designated them as Kalb's MSS. adding the name of "Nachtmann" up to the concluding point of that gentleman's labors, and adding "Milon la Chapelle," for the remaining period which extends from 1776 to 1780. The latter were comparatively sterile, because Kalb's numerous letters from America mainly relate to matters of personal or domestic interest, and but rarely touch upon public affairs and military movements; they were, however, of great value in enabling me to fix dates and localities with undoubted accuracy.

To Mr. George Bancroft I am under special obligations for the loan of the principal papers respecting Kalb's first journey to America. The evidences of Kalb's birth and extraction I owe to the kindness of my friend, Professor K. L. Aegidi, now professor at Bonn, and the obliging assistance of the Reverend Mr. Recknagel, pastor of Kirchenaurach, Consistorial Councilor Dr. George Kapp, of Munich, and Mr. Philip Feust, then of Erlangen, now lawyer at Fürth.

My friend, M. Louis Tribert, of Paris, supplied me with some valuable data from the papers of the ministry of war, and, long after I had renounced all hope of further discoveries, my friend, Mr. John Bigelow, then American Consul in the last-named city, discovered, in the archives of the same ministry, no less than thirty letters and documents of Kalb's, of which he had the goodness to procure copies for me. In this disinterested act of friendship he received, at the hands of M. Blondel, the custodian of these archives, that courteous assistance which has always distinguished the officials of the French government.

The libraries of the Historical Societies at New York and Baltimore contain very valuable documents. In the latter city the manuscript papers of General Gist, as well as other writings, cited in the course of the work, turned out to be

extremely productive. In New York the papers of General Gates were particularly rich in materials, and of incalculable value for my purposes. The librarians of these institutions, Mr. George H. Moore here, and Mr. A. M. Rogers of Baltimore, aided my efforts with their accustomed kindness.

All these gentlemen are requested to accept my heartfelt thanks for the friendship thus extended.

In the office of the Secretary of State at Washington I had no difficulty in obtaining the consent of General Cass to my taking copies of letters and documents relating to the subject of this memoir. Under the administration of Mr. Seward, several excerpts from a volume containing the De Kalb and the Du Coudray papers were withheld from me on the ground that they were deemed not relevant to my subject. A written demonstration to the contrary, which I furnished, received no attention. On the whole, no change has taken place in the narrow-minded jealousy with which the revolutionary documents are guarded in Washington, any more than in the neglected early education of the gentlemen who guard them. The unsophisticated views of these worthy functionaries on matters of historical interest are without a parallel in the present century.

The following correspondence took place between the State Department and myself in relation to this subject.

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, December 11, 1861.

FRIEDRICH KAPP, Esq., 122 *Broadway, New York.*

SIR: It is understood that you have recently made application for copies of certain invoices among the Du Coudray papers on file in this Department, for the purpose of throwing light on a Life of the Baron de Kalb, which you propose to publish. As no connection can be discovered between the papers requested and the proposed Life of De Kalb, you are informed that such copies will not be allowed to be taken unless you can offer a sufficient explanation in this regard.

I am your obedient servant,

F. W. SEWARD, *Assistant Secretary.*

To which letter I replied as follows:

NEW YORK, *December 17th*, 1861.

HON. F. W. SEWARD, *Assistant Secretary of State, Washington.*

SIR: In reply to your favor of the 11th inst., refusing me the use of the Du Coudray Papers, on the rolls of your Department, unless I can offer a sufficient explanation, that they have a connection with the Life of Baron De Kalb, which I am now writing, I beg to say that Du Coudray was a French officer, who, with the knowledge of the French government, intended to come over to the United States in company with Baron De Kalb, and was charged with the shipment of several invoices of ammunition, goods and cannon, in aid of the Colonies.

As it is one of the essential points in my biography of De Kalb to elucidate the part taken by the French government in the American struggle of independence, you will see at once the bearing of those papers upon my subject. I cannot establish my proofs without reference to those identical invoices contained in the Du Coudray Papers.

Another point is the action taken by Beaumarchais, who, in his desire of vindicating to himself exclusively the honor of having procured French goods and money in aid of the Revolution, made an attack both upon Du Coudray and De Kalb, as well as afterwards upon the Washington government, which he accused of fraud and false dealings to all Europe. To refute such charges is not only in the interest of my work, but of the fair fame of this Republic. If the above information should not prove sufficient to overcome the conscientious scruples of your department, respecting the connection between the life of one of the revolutionary heroes, and the light thrown upon the action of the French government in that revolution, by the Du Coudray Papers, I beg to refer your clerks to Willard, Lossing, or Wilson, or almost any school-book on American History. Such being the case, your reply upon my application evinces, allow me to say, a gross ignorance prevailing in your department with regard to the elementary knowledge of the history of this country. The department might have avoided such exposure, if there had been good sense and literary breeding enough to know that every historian of character and responsibility must judge for himself as to the importance of the papers which he wishes to use or to consult, and that

he claims the permission of perusing the same as his right in the interest of historical truth, not as a favor dependent upon the good will of ignorant clerks. If it be therefore not my right to have those copies, I have no disposition to ask a favor.

I am, sir, respectfully, your obdt. servant,

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

In January, 1862, I called at the State Department, and was informed by the then Chief Clerk, Mr. Hunter, that the reasons given by me to be allowed access to the Du Coudray Papers had not been deemed satisfactory. Subsequently I saw Senator Charles Sumner, and in the course of my conversation with him, I complained of the treatment I had received from the State Department. Mr. Sumner, with that obliging kindness and courtesy which the world over distinguishes the gentleman, at once volunteered his services to procure me copies of the documents in question. On April 17, 1862, he enclosed to me the following letter :

DEPARTMENT OF STATE,
Washington, April 15, 1862.

HON. CHARLES SUMNER, *Senate Chamber.*

SIR: This Department accedes to the request which has been made by you, that Mr. Kapp may have access to certain papers that are among the Revolutionary Archives; or Mr. Kapp can have the papers referred to copied in the Department, by conforming to the requirements of law in this regard.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,

WILLIAM H. SEWARD.

As grateful as I was to the distinguished Senator for his interference, I did not feel disposed to avail myself of Mr. Seward's tardy permission. Having been warned by a former sad experience in the State Department, I had neglected nothing to conform with the requirements of the law in this respect, and I therefore considered the condition mentioned in Mr. Steward's note as a mere excuse to the Senator. Be-

sides, for three unsuccessful trips to Washington, and for copying in the Department, I had already spent considerably more than my means at that time would permit.

I should have wished to correct an error which I had committed in my life of Steuben, where, mentioning the dealings between Beaumarchais and the United States, I had charged the latter as being in fault, while a later and more thorough study of the subject convinced me that the only blame in these transactions properly fell on the shoulders of Beaumarchais. If I omitted to fulfil this duty, Mr. Seward's subordinates have to account for it.

Be that as it may, the materials enumerated exhaust the subject, and even cast new and important lights upon the political relations of France to England, and the present United States, from the year 1767 to 1777, as well as upon some of the designs, hitherto unknown, of the French statesmen of that era. In these disclosures, Kalb is invested with a political no less than with a military interest. His intercourse with Choiseul and Broglie, Lafayette and Washington, unfold the inmost recesses of the history of the period, and carry the reader far beyond the narrow confines of a military career, into the mazes of international politics.

While the life of every man is a reflection, more or less faithful, of the history of his time, which, indeed, is but the product of the welded activity of its thinkers and agents, Kalb is peculiarly a true son of the eighteenth century. Issuing from the undermost strata of society, and scaling its heights by dint of native power, he labors wittingly and willingly to bring out the form and pressure of the age, and bears in every feature the stamp of its faults and of its glories, of its paltry political misery and its lofty republican aspirations, its craven deference to timeworn prejudice, and its titanic wrestlings with hoary tradition.

FRIEDRICH KAPP.

BERLIN, January 1884.

CHAPTER I.

KALB'S PEDIGREE AND BIRTH.—ENTERS THE FRENCH SERVICE, AND ASSUMES A TITLE OF NOBILITY.—HIS MOTIVES.—CURRENT OPINIONS OF THE LAST CENTURY ON THE SUBJECT OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE VARIOUS CONDITIONS IN LIFE.—KALB A LIEUTENANT IN THE REGIMENT LOEWENDAL.—KALB'S CAMPAIGNS IN FLANDERS AND ALSACE.—THE SCHOOL OF MARSHAL SAXE.—KALB BECOMES A CAPTAIN, ADJUTANT, AND "OFFICIER DE DÉTAIL".—GARRISONS WHERE HE WAS STATIONED IN TIMES OF PEACE.—HIS DUTIES AND SERVICES.—CAPITULARY ARTICLES OF THE FOREIGN REGIMENTS.—KALB'S PLAN OF AN INVASION OF ENGLAND, AND CREATION OF A BODY OF MARINE INFANTRY.—THE PROJECT FAILS OF ADOPTION AT VERSAILLES.—HE RETURNS TO CAMBRAY AND OBTAINS A MAJOR'S COMMISSION IN 1756.

IT was not, as has been hitherto erroneously supposed, the lordly castle of a German baron, but the humble cottage of a Franconian peasant, which gave to the world the hero whose career these pages are intended to commemorate.

John Kalb was born the 29th of June, 1721, at Huettendorf, a village then belonging to the Margraviate of Bayreuth, afterward under Prussian sovereignty, but at present incorporated with the parish of Frauenaurach in the Bavarian district of Erlangen. His father, John Leonard Kalb, was the son of Hans Kalb, yeoman, of Leinburg, near Altdorf, and figured in the church records of Frauenaurach as "sojourner and peasant of Huettendorf." On the 24th of April, 1715, he married Mrs. Margaret Putz, of Huettendorf, whose maiden name was Seitz, and her birthplace Eschenbach. The issue of this marriage, besides our hero, already named, were

two sons, of whom the eldest, George, born November 15, 1718, died as a peasant at Stadeln, near Fuerth, while the youngest, Andrew, born the 17th of January, 1727, inherited the homestead at Huettendorf. John passed his childhood in his father's house, and received his earliest schooling at Kriegenbronn. Then he became a waiter, and as such, when barely sixteen years of age, he went abroad.[1] At this point his trace is lost for years. There can be but little doubt that he soon found his way to France, and cast his lot with military men, for about the close of the year 1743 the peasant boy Hans Kalb turns up as Jean de Kalb, lieutenant in he regiment Loewendal of French infantry.[2] How he reached these foreign parts, and how he achieved his position there, I have not succeeded in ascertaining; nor is it probable that any authentic clue to the mystery will ever be discovered.

Throughout the last century, more than at any other time, the line of distinction between the character of an adventurer and that of a hero is very dim, often scarcely discernible; and the antecedents of many a man who, at a subsequent stage of his career has scaled the heights of fame, are checkered with alternate displays of either. The force of circumstances seems to have thrust Kalb into the path of adventure in early life, while his staid and sober disposition tended to impel him in the opposite direction. It is very clear that his advancement was facilitated by his assumption of nobility, and in the highest degree probable that it was achieved by some act of gallantry in the face of the enemy. But where and how he acquired the manners and the knowledge necessary to maintain his ground, is a question difficult to answer. If he had entered a regiment commanded by Frenchmen, the inference would be that he was enabled to sustain his rôle by the limit-

ed acquaintance of the French officers of that day with German society and habits. But we find him in a corps, which, though enlisted under French colors, was officered almost exclusively by German noblemen, thus bringing him into contact with men who must have had an accurate knowledge of the German nobility, and some of whom may have belonged to the same province, or at least may have been connected with the landed gentry of that neighborhood by the ties of blood or friendship.

Kalb's assumption of a title not legally belonging to him is not at all surprising, in view of the fact that none of the armies of that day admitted the claims of a commoner to promotion, and that shortly before the breaking out of the French revolution (in 1781) the privilege of holding commissions in the army was restricted to nobles of at least four ancestors.[3] Indeed, the nobility of that period may be said to have comprised the whole of its good society. Even Frederick the Great went so far as to attribute to that order a higher sense of honor and a more profound insight into the art of war and the mystery of statecraft, and to limit the appointment of untitled men to important offices to the most exceptional cases. Nor did the slighted classes resent their subordination, or regard it as anything worthy of comment. Puetter, the celebrated jurist of Goettingen, a contemporary of Kalb, always felt himself especially honored when some count or baron addressed him, or even vouchsafed to chat with him during the lazy hours of the bathing season at Pyrmont. It is well known that Goethe was profoundly flattered at being admitted to the edifying conversation of some obscure prince at Karlsbad, and his annals record as preëminently noteworthy that the Prince of Reuss, a poten-

tate who but for this mention would have gone to his grave unknown to posterity, always honored him with "an affable and gracious demeanor." A hundred such instances might be cited to show the peculiar fascination exercised by the purely factitious blazon of nobility even upon the leading minds of that era. As a partial compensation for this injustice the favored class of that day good-naturedly acquiesced in the nobility of any one who managed to assume the title and the external badges of the order, without inquiring closely into his pedigree. This was particularly the case in France, where men where just awakening to a sense of the absurdity of these prejudices. Hence that swarm of adventurers who wormed their way into these circles of the quality, where they were generally tolerated, and often petted, until some caprice or accident hurled them back into their original oblivion.

Like hundreds before and after him—of whom St. Arnaud and Persigny may serve as examples—Kalb adopted the means best calculated to lift him out of the narrow confines of his native condition into a more advantageous position. Regarding this step in the light of his time, it cannot be judged too mildly. The title of nobility was simply the password which unlocked the world to him, the indispensable starting-point for all further operations. One more scruple on his part, and the world would probably have gained a sturdy yeoman, but lost a hero!

Be that as it may, our hero is henceforth Baron de Kalb. the Kalb of history. The regiment formed by Count Loewendal on the first of September, 1743, to which, about the close of the same year, we find him attached as lieutenant, was then stationed in Flanders, and shared in the brilliant though ultimately barren victories won by the French armies

under Marshal Saxe over the united forces of the English, Dutch, and Austrians.

The war of the Austrian Succession, theretofore confined to Germany, was just then assuming European dimensions. France, true to her ancient policy of hostility to Austria, had entered into the contest in 1740, merely as the ally of the elector Albert of Bavaria, in opposition to the pretensions of Maria Theresa; in 1744, however, she openly declared war against Great Britain and Austria. To drive the English out of the Netherlands, Louis XV. himself entered Flanders, opened the campaign with the siege of Menin, which surrendered after a brief resistance, and proceeded to invest Ypres and Furnes, which were also speedily reduced. The Loewendal regiment took a prominent part in these three operations. When the Austrians invaded Alsace in considerable force, Louis resolved to conduct 40,000 of the flower of his victorious Flemish army to the support of Marshal Coigny on the Rhine. At Metz, however, the king fell dangerously ill. The French, instead of driving the enemy across or into the Rhine, frittered away their forces in exhausting marches, futile manœuvres, and petty engagements. One of the latter was the brilliant attack upon the village of Augenheim, in which again the Loewendal regiment gained peculiar distinction. The French took the place on the 23d of August, 1744, after a determined resistance on the part of the Austrian grenadiers and Hungarians, but gave the Prince of Lorraine time, upon the news of the irruption of Frederick II. into Bohemia, to make good the passage of the Rhine without molestation, and then to march upon Prague by way of Swabia and the Upper Palatinate. Instead of pursuing the enemy, the French contented themselves with the conquest of the

Brisgow, and concluded the campaign in November, 1744, with the taking of Freiburg, under the walls of which alone they lost twelve thousand men. In this siege, also, the Loewendal regiment was engaged, so that in the course of a single year, Kalb had a share in three sieges and one hotly-contested battle.

In the following year, 1745, his regiment rejoined the army of Marshal Saxe in the Netherlands. At the battle of Fontenoy, fought May 11, 1745, it formed a part of the reserve which was under the command of Loewendal himself; and in pursuance of this victory, which was mainly brought about by the gallantry of the foreign regiments, it assisted at the capture of Ghent, Oudenarde, Ostende, and Nieuport. In fact, if we except the battles of Lafeld and Raucoux, there is hardly a decisive event in the course of these campaigns in which the regiment was not distinguished. Thus, in 1746, it was active at the reduction of Huy and Namur. In 1747 it shared in the taking of Ecluse and Sar de Gand, and in the still more celebrated storming of Bergen op Zoom, which brought its commander the marshal's baton; in 1748 it aided in the siege and capture of Mastricht, at the close of which the French, exhausted by the war, purchased the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle by the surrender of all their conquests in the Netherlands.

It was Kalb's good fortune to receive his military training in the school of Marshal Saxe, the greatest captain of Europe in the period intervening between the career of Prince Eugene and that of Frederick the Great, and whom the latter venerated as the "professor of all the European generals." But Loewendal too was a general fitted to stand beside the ablest chieftains of the age, and particularly eminent in the

art of reducing fortifications. From the subordinate position occupied by our hero, it is but natural that his name does not figure in the reports of this war; but there is evidence in papers still extant that he was even then a diligent and energetic officer, occupying all his leisure moments in the study principally of the modern languages, and of the higher branches of mathematics as applied to the art of fortification and to the internal organization of various bodies of troops. Under these circumstances he could not fail to attract the attention of his superiors, and was not only assigned to services of importance, but rapidly promoted. In 1747 he was made captain and adjutant, and also charged with the duties of an "officer of detail."

This designation was peculiar to the French army of the eighteenth century, and combined the offices of general manager and judge of the regiment. It was for the incumbent to superintend all its affairs, from the most trivial minutiæ of daily routine to the most important points of discipline and jurisprudence. The colonel gave the regiment his name and was its representative abroad, the officer of detail controlled its internal administration. He conducted the correspondence with the commanding general and the minister of war, reported the condition of the men, made requisitions to meet their wants, scrutinized and expounded the articles of war—of which each regiment then had its own—vindicated their rights as against their superiors, suggested rewards and punishments, and acted, in short, as the virtual head of the regiment.

A position at once so honorable to a young officer, and so responsible, could be well filled only by a man of intelligence, energy, and integrity. It was occupied by Kalb during almost the entire duration of the peace which preceded the

Seven Years' War. His regiment was in garrison at Pfalzburg and Cambray. Our hero was not only studious of faithfully performing the duties of his office, but also endeavored, as far as in him lay, to correct existing abuses, and to infuse coherence and humanity into the barbarous and contradictory codes by which his own and other regiments were governed. The articles of war, or capitulations, adopted at the formation or subsequent reorganizations of the various regiments of the French army, produced an anomalous state of things replete with doubt and incongruities. Every regiment was a close corporation, a petty state within itself, and of course excessively jealous of its "rights and franchises." What in one regiment was enjoined by the law, was punished in another as a crime. Every "Capitulation," was an independent treaty between the King of France of the one part, and the foreign soldiers of the other. The latter sold their services in consideration of the most favorable stipulations and privileges, which the former accorded lavishly or sparingly, according to the urgency of his military necessities. Thus, each regiment occupied a position of its own, and its discipline frequently came into conflict with that of the rest of the army. In spite, or rather in consequence of the most precise directions in reference to discipline, arms, uniform, subsistence, and police, in peace and war, doubts and difficulties frequently arose, which were passed upon by the minister of war on the report of the officer of detail. Kalb devoted himself to this portion of his task with the greatest zeal, endeavoring either to resolve his doubts by taking the advice of his colleagues in other foreign regiments, or, failing that, to settle important points by the decision of the minister himself. To give an instance among many—a court-martial of

his regiment had condemned to death a deserter who, after having sold his uniform in a foreign country, had returned to France, and been arrested. A minority of the judges dissented, and voted for the gauntlet, on the ground that capital punishment was only incurred where the deserter was arrested out of the kingdom. On the 20th of August, 1751, Kalb submitted the case to the minister of war, Count d'Argenson, who, on 21st of September, decided in favor of the milder sentence, on the ground of the ordinances of the regiment.

The independent jurisdiction of the regimental court-martials often led to the most intolerable abuses. In the absence of a regular course of procedure, particularly in police matters, the accused was often exposed to the arbitrary cruelty of narrow-minded judges. Kalb did what he could to redress these grievances, and corresponded with the officers of detail of all the other German regiments in the service, with the view of approximating harmony in the distribution of punishments. Thus, for instance, it was the rule with most of the regiments, that public women detected in the barracks fell under the jurisdiction of the colonel. The latter usually had them publicly whipped by the very soldiers in whose company they had been caught. It was revolting to the men to be made the instruments of such a chastisement, and they often vented their aversion to so sudden an exchange of the functions of a paramour for those of the beadle, in acts of flagrant insubordination. On one occasion of this kind in Nancy, in 1748, three grenadiers were hung for mutiny. Though unsuccessful in his efforts to bring about the total abolition of this degrading punishment, Kalb at least effected the dispensation of the men of his own regiment from being the instruments of it.[4]

Nor is it in these more important matters alone that Kalb watched over the interests of the soldiers entrusted to him. He was equally vigilant in the smallest matters of detail. At one time he is called upon to indicate the claim to fifteen beds accorded to the German infantry by a capitulation of May 1, 1733, in which he is sustained by the minister of war against the commissary-general. Again he is found procuring a decision adjusting differences between the major attached to a post and the major attached to the regiment which garrisons the post, and determining which of them shall be entitled to claim the sword of a regimental officer who dies in garrison. And again he obtains the extradition of deserters who have been mustered into a French regiment, and accomplishes the ascertainment of the rule under which a soldier may change his regiment without incurring the penalty of desertion. Neither did the details of the service distract his attention from the scientific branches of his profession, on the one hand, or the political horizon which foreboded the speedy return of hostilities between England and France on the other. In concluding the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle in 1748 both parties had studiously left the terms so vague, and their mutual claims to certain American possessions so undecided, that the war was unavoidably renewed at the earliest opportunity. During all the eight years that ensued, the two nations were eying each other in an attitude of preparation. In 1754, before the Seven Years' War was thought of, skirmishes and encounters frequently occurred between the English and the French garrisons in Canada, and on the Ohio and Mississippi, in which the English were generally worsted. The war had already become inevitable, although it was not formally declared before the beginning

of the year 1756. Kalb was well aware of its approach, and, though a German, he cherished his full share of the hatred of the French against the English.

Convinced of the inadequacy of the means of maritime defence then at the disposal of France, he ventured, about end of the year 1754, when the news of the first disturbances in America was received in France, to submit to M. Machault, the minister of marine, a plan for the formation of a foreign regiment of marine infantry, which was to be organized with a particular view to sudden landings on the coasts of England and her colonies. Then as now the British were tormented by perpetual fears of a French invasion of the island. In 1744 Marshal Saxe had engaged in preparations for a landing, in concert with the Scotch pretender, at Dunkirk, and had thereby constrained the withdrawal of the English forces from Flanders quite as effectually as if the threat had been actually carried out. The success of the marshal on that occasion appears to have first directed Kalb's attention to the subject. How well his plan accorded with the national inclinations, and how popular a project of this kind always has been and always will be, has been abundantly shown by the subsequent history of the monarchy, the republic, and the empire. Two years after the rejection of Kalb's proposition Marshal Belleisle, the successor of d'Argenson as minister of war, conceived the design of crossing the channel in flat-bottomed craft, and was seconded in this hairbrained project by the most influential parties of the court, headed by that mysterious personage, the Count St. Germain. In 1759 Choiseul managed to secure the neutrality of Holland and the alliance of Sweden, for the purpose of enabling him to land in England and dictate terms of peace to the enemy in London

itself. His fleet, however, was disabled in the Bay of Quiberon, which frustrated a movement undertaken at immense expense. Like a sacred tradition these expeditions recur as often as a war with England is declared or threatened. Louis XVI. made similar preparations. Under the directory a fleet of gunboats was maintained in the channel for years, with a like object. Napoleon I. is well known to have entertained similar designs at Boulogne, and the lower empire would not be the faithful caricature of its predecessor which it is, if its Chauvins did not brandish their sabres at the northern horizon, and prate of the humiliation of England in her own capital, whenever it served the turn of their lord and master. Let us hear Kalb's own exposition of his views of the best means of humbling the pride of Albion in his day.*

"A regiment of foreign marines," he says in his memorial, "would be of undoubted advantage to the king. It should number from eight to twelve hundred men, and would have to serve on land, on the coast, in the colonies, and on board the navy, and be composed of Germans, Danes, Swedes, Englishmen, inhabitants of our own seaboard provinces, but above all things of Irishmen. The latter are universally known to be the best sailors and marines of the English navy; besides, they are Roman Catholics. Their concourse to our flag might make it possible for us to people a considerable part of our colonies with them. By making this disposition of them we might secure the adherence of numbers of Irishmen in any undertaking against the naval power, the colonies, or the provinces of England, and might keep ourselves well informed of all the hostile movements of the British. All the world is aware of the hatred cherished by the Irish against the English. The former never served the latter for any

other reason than the want of better employment. It is remarkable that this project has not been broached heretofore. How invaluable would such a corps have been to the State at the time when the king had sixteen thousand Irishmen in his service! For six and forty years France has had no more trusty soldiers, none who served her, on all occasions, with greater zeal and efficiency. But they would have been much more useful at sea than on land, for the former must be regarded as their native element."

After detailing the advantages to be derived from the adoption of his plan, Kalb proceeds to discuss the disposition of the force to be raised.

"Detachments," he continues, "should be sent to Quebec and Louisburg, and recruited in Nova Scotia, which colony is almost exclusively inhabited by English and Irish Catholics. By this means we should be furnished with every information which it would be to our interest to receive from that portion of America. Other detachments could be usefully employed at Martinique, Guadaloupe, and Marie Galante, as these islands command all the other French and all the English possessions in that quarter, in consequence of the easterly winds prevailing there from year's end to year's end, and which would enable us in twenty-four hours to reach Barbadoes, Antigua, and the remaining English Antilles, which carry on considerable commerce. The same advantage is offered by Cape Français, the best harbor in that portion of San Domingo, subject to the King, which lies to windward of Jamaica, the most important English possession in America. A strong detachment of the regiment posted there, and commanded by officers of zeal and intelligence, might secure the fullest and most reliable intelligence about the strength of the English, their move-

ments, their weak points, and the best means of surprising them.

"If the regiment is to render the service fairly to be expected, it must be formed and instructed in time. Soldiers reared in a discipline of years may be depended on for implicit obedience in any enterprise, while ignorance of the country and of the hostile resources will always expose an army to the misfortunes which befell the fleet commanded by the Duc d'Antin in 1740 and 1741. His attack upon Jamaica failed from utter want of knowledge of the country. Had he been in command of soldiers such as I propose to raise, he would have been sufficiently apprised that the English had not a tenth part of the force attributed to them in his calculations. Besides, it is notorious that the British succeeded in taking Fort St. Louis on San Domingo only on account of the cowardice of the garrison; they could never have reduced it, had it been defended by a well-disciplined force such as I have suggested."

Kalb concludes his memorial by proposing to bestow the commissions on the Catholic nobility and gentry of England and Ireland, as a measure most acceptable to the younger sons of those families, and calculated greatly to multiply the devoted subjects of the French crown.

The plan is accompanied by two specifications, which exhaust the technical details of the project. The first of these supplements discusses the composition and organization of the regiment, its pay, equipment, and discipline; while the second gives the outlines of a "capitulation" designed to regulate the rights and duties of the regiment as against the crown.

The work has here been reproduced in its leading details, because it brings out in bold relief the young officer's politi-

cal intelligence and military acquirements. He speaks without reserve or circumlocution, not as a craven sycophant, greedy of private gain, but as a man convinced of the merits of his case, and anxious to make all the energies of his adopted country available against its most formidable foe.

Nor did Kalb deceive himself as to the obstacles to be encountered. He saw very clearly that his subordinate position in the military hierarchy was a hindrance in his path, the more so as his designs involved the most important questions of foreign politics, of the finances, and of colonial defence. Aside from these scruples on the score of the public welfare, he also came into collision with the interests of the colonels who commanded foreign regiments in the French service, and recruited them in Ireland, Germany, and the seaboard provinces.

While the king and his mistresses were wasting millions, and scandalously neglecting the army and the soldier, the minister of marine, to sustain the existing establishment, was driven to exercise the most rigid parsimony, and could hardly be expected to consent to an expenditure less indispensable than others, and admitting of no test of its practical efficacy except the ordeal of actual warfare.

Nevertheless, Kalb made the effort, and followed it up with vigor and skill. He enlisted the coöperation of an older officer, Lieutenant-colonel Niell, of the Dillon regiment, by designating him for the colonelcy of the proposed organization, of which Kalb was to be the senior major. Directing his first operation against the opposition of the colonels, he undertook to dissipate their fears of his competition with their recruiting sergeants, by showing that the new regiment, instead of interfering with the old ones, would attract so

many recruits, as to open a new and abundant source of supply to all the foreign regiments. Finding tha there was little hope of convincing the minister by means of a written correspondence, he procured a furlough, and travelled, early in the year 1755, from Cambray to Paris, where he obtained audiences of the minister of war and marine, and their subordinates. He also endeavored to make interest with the most influential persons at the Court of Versailles. The Keeper of the Great Seal received him with especial kindness, and encouraged him in the active prosecution of his purpose. For a moment things looked promising, and success imminent; but the naval minister, on whose accession everything depended, soon showed a disposition to procrastinate. M. de Machault was lavish in the praise of the originator of the plan, but deferred its detailed examination from day to day. The English colonels were particularly active in their intrigues against Kalb. His friend Niell, of more mature experience, and better acquainted with the ways of the court, advised him to gain over one or two of Madame de Pompadour's especial favorites, by promising them the patronage of the most lucrative positions connected with the new regiment, and to allure de la Porte, the first secretary of the minister of marine, by cutting down the estimates to the lowest figure. This courtly game was repulsive to Kalb's frank and open nature. He answered his friend by saying that he was advocating a public measure, in which he coveted nothing for himself except an opportunity of achieving military distinction, and that he would not stoop to the rôle of a flatterer or a suppliant. Preferring to renounce his plan, and preserve his military honor, he left Paris in May, 1755, and returned to his garrison at Cambray, where, in the following year, he was promoted to a majority in his regiment.

CHAPTER II.

THE SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—POSITION OF THE GERMAN OFFICERS IN THE FRENCH ARMY.—HISTORICAL RESUMÉ OF THE POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT OF GERMANY.—IMPOSING POSITION OF FRANCE IN EUROPE.—FOREIGN REGIMENTS IN THE FRENCH SERVICE.—NUMBER OF GERMAN REGIMENTS.—WANT OF NATIONAL SPIRIT AMONG THEM.—THE FRENCH ARMY AT THE BREAKING OUT OF THE WAR.—CAMPAIGNS IN LOWER GERMANY.—BATTLE OF ROSSBACH.—RELATIONS OF KALB WITH BROGLIE.—BATTLE OF BERGEN.—THE NEW COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF DESIRES TO TRANSFER HIM TO THE CORPS OF THE SAXON ALLIES.—BATTLE OF GREBENSTEIN, OR WILHELMSTHAL.—KALB IN THE WETTERAW AND IN FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN.—HE ASSISTS A NUMBER OF DUCAL AND NOBLE FAMILIES IN PRESENTING THEIR CLAIMS FOR INDEMNITY AGAINST THE FRENCH COMMISSARIAT.—PATRIOTIC LETTER OF THE PRINCESS OF BRAUNFELS.—AT THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE KALB GOES INTO GARRISON AT LANDAU.

THE Seven Years' War, through which we are now to follow the fortunes of Major Kalb, will claim our attention in so far only as our hero was actively concerned in it.

Neither in a personal nor in a political point of view do we find him in an enviable position. The ignominy and disaster of the French arms could not but throw a shade upon every officer, however individually brave and effective, and could not but embitter the pursuit of his profession. Moreover, a German could feel but little honor in finding himself arrayed against his country in the war which for the first time after more than a century of national humiliation, restored the pride of his people, and brought them back to the upward course of political and intellectual progress. Much as Kalb

resented the former grievance, the influences of the times no doubt made him perfectly callous to the latter; nor in justice can he be made answerable for this his position in the French army.

The practice of taking service under the French flag must be considered in connection with the lamentable condition of the German people in the period intervening between the middle of the seventeenth and that of the eighteenth century. Germany had well-nigh bled to death in the Reformation. It had vindicated the liberty of the individual judgment in matters of faith, but had failed to make the same principle the corner-stone of its political and social structure. The Thirty Years' War had broken down the power of the nation. The Peace of Westphalia but set the seal upon its impotence, which it perpetuated by acknowledging the virtual sovereignty of the vassal of the buried empire. The petty princes thus emancipated from the control of the emperor, but too weak to defend themselves, sought protection and support abroad, particularly in France, which, for the very purpose of bruising the strength of its neighbor, constituted itself the guardian of what it called the "German liberties"—a term intended to designate the privileges usurped by these petty magnates—and which thereby attained the dignity of arbiter in the affairs of Europe. It was a natural incident of this system that the centralizing despotism of Louis XIV. was studiously imitated by the narrow-minded, puny, and brutal German satraps. Paris and Versailles were the models, the potent influence of which speedily penetrated the inmost heart of Germany. French licentiousness and statecraft soon remained the only ties of union and accord between the divided and jealous

potentates. The very German sovereigns who stickled so persistently for the indicia of rank and dignity at home, crawled in the dust before Louis XIV. and his successor, took the wages of their degradation in large sums of ready money, and voluntarily abased themselves before the most insignificant French noblemen. A conspicuous but by no means solitary instance is found in the behavior of the elector Charles Albert of Bavaria, afterward Charles VII., toward the Duke of Belleisle, in whom he venerated "the creator of his good fortune, the arbiter of his fate."

Even after the inglorious issue of the Seven Years' War the German princes flocked to the standard of France, leaving their pride of place behind them. "All the German princes, sovereigns at home," says Ségur in his Memoirs, "were treated as equals by the French nobility in Paris. No one ever heard of any distinction being made between Prince Max of Deuxponts, the future King of Bavaria, and the French nobles who served with him, or kept his company." These princes of the empire forfeited their commissions and their honor by refusing to accept a challenge from a needy French adventurer. The fondness of the French gentry for such encounters with their princely comrades, and the equivocal renown achieved by some of the latter in accepting these opportunities, are the theme of extended narratives given by Ségur of occurrences in the eighth decade of that century.[6]

In the eyes of the men of Versailles, the peoples existed simply as objects of barter and trade by cabinets and diplomatists. The arbitrary will of the prince was the supreme law, the vivifying and invigorating power of the State; in sovereign ignorance of national conditions and na-

tional relations, the monarch's selfish and purblind policy subverted the prosperity of his subjects, and respected no limit and no law except his fancy and caprice. Between the despotism of France and that of Germany, there was but one distinction; that, however, was an enormous one. The former, an offshoot of the soil on which it grew, was national, original, formidable, and of vast dimensions; the latter, foreign to the German mind in all its features, was a paltry and ridiculous caricature.

Like master, like man; the difference between the sovereigns found its counterpart in the difference between the nobilities of the two countries. In the days of Hutten and Sickingen the German barons had maintained their position as the natural champions of popular interests against the increasing pretensions of the princes; the absolute power of the latter could not fail to deprive the landed gentry of their independence, and to degrade them to the level of courtiers. Cringing and subservient to those above them, supercilious and overbearing to the lowly, the entire class had become a parasitic plant upon the body politic, and the very best specimens of the order were nothing more than soulless tools in the hands of governmental power For the noble, as for his master, Paris was the sun round which the earth revolved; he, too, was nothing but the thoughtless ape of French manners and customs, the hairbrained contemner of domestic affairs and domestic opinions. It was regarded as the height of good fortune to have visited Paris and Versailles, and no honor was more coveted than that of seeing the French king. At home, the nobility had the monopoly of the army commissions and court charges; but these were far from sufficing for the maintenance of its numerous progeny, who

were therefore driven to look for distinction, reputation, and emoluments, in the civil and military service of foreign countries. In fact, the class had ceased to have a country; the very idea had come to be rated among the prejudices of the "canaille." The well-known Count Bonneval, a wretch without honor or shame, who trampled upon all the virtues that grace humanity, who, after serving successively in the armies of France and of the Empire, forswore his faith and died as a Turkish pacha, spoke not his own language merely, but revealed the sentiments of his whole order, particularly of the German portion of it, when he wrote apologetically to Prince Eugene of Savoy that he was "far from entertaining that love of country to which the common people addict themselves."

For men of this description France was the goal of all ambition. Throughout the past century we find the princes, counts, and barons of the Empire in French livery. There were, in this service, a number of German regiments, partly raised in the German provinces of France, partly recruited from native Germans, and always commanded by German officers. In 1748 the foreign troops belonging to the French king numbered 52,315; among them were no less than nineteen German infantry battalions, with 525 officers and 17,604 of the rank and file, and three regiments of cavalry, numbering 78 officers and 1,440 troopers, exclusive of the thirteen Swiss regiments, of 806 officers and 17,940 enlisted men, thousands of whom were Germans. Even in 1776, when this state of things was approaching its close, the Germans in the pay of France comprised eight regiments of foot with 448 officers and 12,032 privates, besides three cavalry regiments of 96 officers and 2,520 men.[7]

These foreign troops were maintained in pursuance of a well-directed policy. "Anxious as the foreign regiments otherwise were to assimilate themselves to the French," says Eugene Fieffé, "they always received the words of command in their own languages. Even in times of peace the ranks were kept better filled than those of the home levies, partly on account of the difficulty of recruiting in a foreign country in time of war, and partly on account of the importance of keeping the veterans who would otherwise have enlisted under another flag. Their pay, too, was higher. Many of these corps belonged to princes or foreign great lords, whom it was desirable to attach to the interests of France. In other respects these soldiers were subjected to the same organization and discipline as the French regiments. In most cases they did excellent service, having the *esprit de corps* strongly developed, consisting to a large extent of old campaigners, and being in the hands of officers who were born and died in the regiments. They were an object of constant solicitude to the Government, by whom they were regarded as their most reliable support, and as an invaluable counterpoise to the less pliant elements of the army. The king and the princes frequently reviewed them, as a means of keeping up a personal intercourse with the colonels, to whom their visits were of course extremely flattering. On such occasions each of the princes was furnished with a little card, containing translations and explanations of the commands and manœuvres. These cards were kept carefully concealed in the palm of the hand or under the saddle."

In Kalb's early days the disposition of the Germans to become French soldiers was particularly stimulated by the examples of two distinguished men, the Marshal Saxe, who

was commander-in-chief, and Count Loewendal, who subsequently became Marshal of France. As the political spirit of the century was rather cosmopolitan than national, and as the military spirit of the time was peculiarly exempt from the sentiment of nationality, so the wars of that period were cabinet enterprises, in which the weal or woe of the people was not at all, or but very little considered. The German people, in particular, had become so inured to this passive rôle, it was split into such a host of petty sovereignties, and so impoverished in ideals, in spirit, and in energy, that the members no longer acted upon a common principle of life, and few men ever gave a thought to matters outside of the sound of the village bell, or beyond the turnpike gates of the provincial domain.

An evidence of this deplorable state of things is found in the fact that when, in the American revolution, England hired troops from Brunswick, Hesse, Anspach, Waldeck, and Zerbst, these poor conscripts never had a thought of a common country, and never opposed to the English, French, or Americans, any other fatherland than the little duchy or county which had sold them into bondage. I have perused at least fifty volumes of manuscript reports, diaries, and letters relating to this enforced participation of the German yeomanry in the attempted subjugation of the British colonies, without ever once stumbling upon the use of the bare word "German." "Forward, brave Waldeckers! Hessians, show yourselves worthy of your ancient fame! Down with the rebels, my doughty Brunswickers!" Such are the shouts addressed to their valor; even when slighted, their common origin never occurred to them; for these poor devils there was no Germany; they knew only their Waldeck, Bruns-

wick, or Zerbst sultans, except when called on to hurrah for the King of England, their liege lord by trade and barter.

If, then, the relation of master and servant was the only one recognized in the eighteenth century, if the princes and lords of Germany never scrupled to bear arms against their country when their interests prompted, if military honor and distinction were the sole ambition of the soldier, how could an individual be expected to entertain that sentiment of patriotism which can only spring from an appreciation of the value of citizenship, from an active and constant participation in the affairs of the community and the State? The best fruit of the Seven Years' War was the faint revival of this feeling, and it was left for the present century to witness its restoration.

The times, therefore, and those who brought them on, must bear the blame, if we find the German estranged from his native land. Let us be thankful that the return of national pride and national honor has put an end to a state of things which drove thousands of Germans to fight against their country.

At the period of Kalb's entrance into the French army, the brilliant monarchy of Louis XIV. was already tottering to its fall. A German commander still achieved French victories, and a large portion of Germany was still in the tutelage of France; but the policy which respected nothing but the interests of the State was no longer pursued, and after the death of Cardinal Fleury (1743), the last statesman of the old school, the management of affairs became a mere appendage to the intrigues of the court and the orgies of the king's mistresses. The first work of this new power was an expensive and disgraceful war, in which the country had no

interest whatever, and which cost her most of her influence in the councils of Europe, her navy, and the greater part of her foreign colonies.

It was no want of courage in the soldier or the subaltern that produced these reverses, but the miserable generalship of the creatures of Madame de Pompadour, who frittered away their time in petty bickerings, jealousies, and debauchery, guided and controlled by nothing except the freaks of court intrigue. Wherever the French soldier was under good leadership, wherever he had confidence in his commanders, his conduct in this war was as good as in any other; and there are instances of personal daring fit to stand beside the greatest in history. Frederick the Great himself appreciated their courage, and remarked that under good generals they would have achieved as many victories as they sustained defeats under bad ones.

The King of Prussia baffled the designs of his adversaries, and opened the war, in 1756, by his unexpected irruption into Saxony. France, also, had not calculated upon the commencement of hostilities earlier than the spring of 1757, for it was only in September, 1756, that steps were taken to place the forces on a war footing. Of the German infantry, three battalions of each of the Alsace regiments and two battalions of each of the regiments Bentheim, la Mark, Royal Suédois, Royal Bavière, and Loewendal were raised from 400 to 680 men in the course of the winter, and attached to the "Army of the Upper Rhine," which, numbering 30,000 men, and commanded by the Prince of Soubise, crossed the Rhine at Dusseldorf, and advanced in the direction of Saxony. At the same time the Marshal d'Estrée, with 70,000 men, invaded northwestern Germany, and,

without encountering any considerable opposition, occupied Cleve, Westphalia, East Friesland, and Hesse Cassel.

The French commander in this department proved decidedly superior to his antagonist, the Duke of Cumberland, and defeated him on the 26th of July, 1757, at Hastenbeck. He was unable, however, to follow up his successes, being recalled in consequence of a court cabal, and supplanted by the Duc de Richelieu. The latter drove the enemy to the coast of the North Sea, between the Elbe and the Weser, and then concluded the capitulation of Kloster Seven, which was repudiated by all parties. He directed his attention principally to the plunder of the conquered provinces, and derived but little benefit from the advantages obtained in the field. In September, while Richelieu, with the main army, advanced upon Magdeburg, the corps of Prince Soubise marched to Erfurt, where it formed a junction with the troops of the Empire, and then pushed across Thuringia into Saxony, there to coöperate with the other enemies of the King of Prussia in surrounding him. Frederick, however, attacked Soubise along the whole line of the Saale, and, on the 5th of November, 1757, inflicted upon him that overwhelming defeat of Rossbach, a victory for the Prussians which will be named through all history.

Kalb took part in this battle. His regiment belonged to the corps of the Duc de Broglie, which was to have prevented the Prussians from crossing the Saale at Merseburg, but was driven back by the king after a gallant and honorable resistance. Victor François de Broglie (1718 to 1804), whom we shall have frequent occasion to mention in the course of these pages, was one of the ablest of the French captains of the day. Jomini calls him the only French

general engaged in the Seven Years' War who approved himself as capable on all occasions. Of course Kalb, like all the other officers, had to suffer by the incompetence of Soubise; but, though involved in the general flight, his corps, together with that of Count St. Germain, had the merit of protecting the French army from total annihilation, and of making it possible for them to go into winter quarters in the Wetteraw.

If the moral impression produced by this battle upon the German people was even more important than its strategic results, its deleterious effects upon the French army, and especially upon the German portions of it, were no less perceptible. The halo which had encircled the French arms in Germany for more than a century was thoroughly dissipated by the 5th of November, 1757. The mind of Germany broke the fetters of France, recognized its inborn vigor, and began to return to its own. Without Rossbach, Lessing and Kant would have continued to preach in the wilderness. Even the hard-fisted hirelings who lived by selling their lives for a soldier's pittance, now scorned the French service, and deserted in squads and platoons to the Prussian colors, where they found more honor and glory. Kalb himself estimates the number of deserters at that time at no less than ten thousand. During the winter of 1757 to 1758 this defection assumed such proportions that the captains soon found it impossible to keep the number of men fit for duty at the prescribed standard.

The evil naturally gave rise to the most varied proposals of amelioration; but it was difficult, if not impossible, to strike at its root, as it was too intimately connected with the entire French military system of those times. A memo-

rial submitted to Kalb for his opinion proposed to take the business of recruiting out of the hands of the captains, to combine all the German regiments into one organization, to consign the duty of canvassing for new soldiers for all the twenty-one German battalions to a single officer, and to select one spot, as for instance Landau, for the establishment of a common depot for the reception and equipment of recruits, thereby securing not only cheaper and more reliable reënforcements, but also a better control over the soldiers detailed to the various regiments. Kalb regarded so radical a measure in the face of the enemy as impracticable,* as it must wound the self-love and infringe the vested rights of the captains, and expose the German regiments to utter disorganization. He showed that, under the French military system, which, in this respect as in many others, could bear no comparison with the Prussian, the captain was at once officer, broker, and capitalist, bound, for a certain price, to provide the king with a given number of soldiers, and interested in selecting the best recruits, as frequent desertions would soon bring him into debt, and even subject him to the risk of bankruptcy. All the cheapness, then, which might be expected from the contemplated centralization of the recruiting service, must be counterbalanced by the corresponding depravation in point of quality which was all the more certain to ensue, as the officer in charge of the station could never have the same interest as the captains, in confining himself to the most acceptable material. But even admitting that the plan would reduce the expense of recruiting and diminish desertion, it nevertheless proceeded on the assumption that the German regiments should cease to be separated by different traditions, rights, and customs,

and should all be reduced to a common level—a measure which would run foul of the jealous vigilance with which each command watched over the preservation of its particular capitulations, thus making it impracticable at all times, and suicidal in time of war.

It would seem that these well-founded objections forestalled even an attempt at reform. Matters remained unchanged, or rather the evil increased to such an extent that about the close of the year 1758 Belleisle, the minister of war, wrote to Marshal Contade, directing him to fill up the waning ranks of the foreign regiments from the inhabitants of the hostile countries.[9] What made improvement almost hopeless was the evil example set the privates by the majority of the officers, who were in the habit of deserting their posts without any furlough, to indulge in the winter amusements of the capital. Every officer of higher rank did as he pleased, and subordination and discipline appeared to be entirely forgotten.

We are not informed whether Kalb took part in all the movements of the Army of the Upper Rhine. In the year 1758 we find no record of any remarkable event in his life. It is reported that on the 13th of April, 1759, he was engaged in the victorious battle of Bergen with his regiment, which was posted in the village itself, and gallantly aided in repulsing the first furious onslaught of the allies. In 1760, the Loewendal regiment having been dissolved and divided among the regiments Anhalt and La Mark, Marshal Duc de Broglie appointed Kalb assistant quartermaster-general (*aide maréchal géneral des logis*) with the Army of the Upper Rhine, a position he continued to occupy to the close of the war, and which, even before his promotion to the rank of lieutenant-

colonel on the 19th of May, 1761, brought him into intimate relations with the commander-in-chief. Broglie had a special preference for Kalb, and endeavored, by thus lifting him out of his regiment, to facilitate his advancement in the army, a design only frustrated by the early appointment of the duke himself to the supreme command.

Henceforth, wherever we find the Army of the Upper Rhine, we find Kalb with it. The daily reports of de la Valette, the commissary-in-chief of that army, copies of which are before me, show, that until the conclusion of peace Kalb was not missing from his post a single day. His duties were of such a nature that it is almost impossible to make a narrative of them. He distinguished himself not only by zeal and punctuality, but by knowledge and intelligence, and made constant progress in the esteem and friendship of Marshal Broglie, as well as of his brother and subordinate, the count of the same name. This intimacy weathered all the storms of the political horizon, and endured, as we shall find in the sequel, up to the latest hour of Kalb's life. He never afterward took an important step without consulting the Broglies, and enjoyed their cordial sympathy in all his undertakings. When, in consequence of the battle of Vellinghausen, the duke became embroiled with Soubise, and was displaced in his command by that minion of the Pompadour, Kalb testified his regret and resentment of this injustice in so unequivocal a manner, as entailed upon him the avowed enmity of Soubise, which was not long in finding expression. No sooner had the hero of Rossbach resumed the command, than he undertook to remove Kalb—in whom he saw only the tool and spy of the Broglies—from his post, and to attach him, with the rank of major, to the Saxon corps then in the pay

of France under the Count of Lusatia. In this event Kalb would have been discharged together with this corps at the close of hostilities, which was daily expected, without any claims of readmission into the French army. Of course he left not a stone unturned to escape such a consummation. He applied for a majority in one of the German regiments, in the contingency of the design of Soubise being carried into execution, and was prepared, if even this resource should fail, to resign his commission. Fortunately for him his immediate superiors, Generals de Vogue and de Salles interposed, and declared Kalb's efficient services indispensable to their departments.'[10]

If these intercessions alone were not sufficient, they were seconded by more important events, brought about by the carelessness of Soubise, which absorbed his attention to the entire oblivion of Kalb, who retained his post without further molestation. The French marshal, instead of obeying the instructions which confined him strictly to the defence of the positions occupied by Broglie, undertook to dispute the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick's passage of the Diemel, but suffered himself to be surprised by the allies on the 24th of June, 1762, on the banks of this river between Grebenstein and Wilhelmsthal, and to be driven, after an inglorious defeat, under the very guns of Cassel. Ferdinand even compelled the French commander to evacuate Göttingen and Munden, and to retreat behind the Fulda.

This momentous battle of Wilhelmsthal, by which all the advantages gained by de Broglie were sacrificed, was the last important engagement in that quarter. Kalb shared in the disasters of the day, as is manifest by the responses of the Duc de Broglie and of a M. de la Guiche, to whom he had

sent a report of the defeat, which unfortunately has not been preserved. Personally, however, he lost nothing, and was even fortunate in keeping his baggage, of which most of the French officers were robbed by the light troops of the allies. His courage and conduct on this occasion were rewarded by the order of merit, which had been established in 1759, and was bestowed upon Protestants in lieu of that of St. Louis, which only Catholics were allowed to wear.

After the retreat from Hesse Cassel, the French head-quarters were again removed to Frankfort, in the walls or the vicinity of which town Kalb was stationed to the end of the war. While the preparations for the departure from Germany were in progress, he supported and advocated the interests of a number of the princely and noble families of the Wetteraw and adjoining provinces, who were entitled to compensation for supplies furnished the French troops, or had other claims upon the French Government. Among others the Princes of Solms-Braunfels, Solms-Hohensolms, and Solms-Lich, were indebted to his prompt action and useful advice for the collection of their demands and the return of their advances. There is extant a thick bundle of letters, in which the gentry of the Wetteraw return thanks to Kalb, or commit their affairs to his keeping; only one of all these documents, however, throws a ray of light upon the existing state of distress and confusion in that part of Germany. It was written on the 18th of November, 1762, by the dowager Princess of Solms-Braunfels, by birth a princess of Birkenfeld, a woman of intelligence and patriotism. "The news of the approaching peace which I read in your favor of the 9th instant," she says, "is most welcome in this part of Germany. We would have been still more fortunate if this joyful event

could have occurred eight or nine weeks earlier. Now we are all ruined. Provisions are not to be had, and lords and lieges are staggering under such a load of debt, that fifty years will be required only to clear off the worst of the rubbish. God grant that peace may be concluded in Silesia as speedily as here, so that all Germany may at last breathe freely. Is it not our beloved country whose weal and woe are in question? It gives me great pleasure to see that you, sir, take the same interest in its welfare." [11]

The negotiations relating to the liquidation of these claims were protracted to the year 1763. Without disrespect to Kalb's memory, it is fair to presume that he did not lend his important services to the parties interested without some compensation, and that the business part of his functions in this matter was quite lucrative. Without some such conjecture it would be impossible to divine how a man originally without means, should be found the next year marrying on a fortune of fifty-two thousand francs.

On the return of the army to France, Kalb went into garrison in the then French fortress of Landau.

CHAPTER III.

Kalb Out of Service.—Captain in the Anhalt Regiment.—He Goes to Paris, but without Obtaining a New Commission.—Futile Efforts—Kalb's Betrothal and Marriage.—His Pecuniary Circumstances.—He Resigns and Goes to Live in the Country.—A Year After he Seeks an Appointment in the Portuguese Army.—Count William of Lippe-Schaumburg.—Broglie's Letter of Introduction.—Visit at Bückeburg.—The Plan is Frustrated.—Secret Mission to America.—Its Nature.—The Duc de Choiseul, his Character and Policy.—Disturbances in the English Colonies of America.—Choiseul Resolves to Send Kalb There.—His Previous Relations to the Duke.—Kalb First Assigned to the Coast Survey.—His Destination Altered.—His Instructions.—His Departure for Holland.—First Report from the Hague.—Further Orders.—Kalb Goes to London, and Thence to America.

At the return of peace, Kalb, as an officer of experience and acknowledged ability, had every claim to be promoted to the rank of colonel; nevertheless, one of the first measures adopted by the ministry in 1763, was the abolition of his office, which had been created only for the duration of the war. Under these circumstances it was fortunate for our hero that in 1761, shortly before quitting the regiment Loewendal, he had purchased a captaincy in the regiment Anhalt. Notwithstanding his superior rank as lieutenant-colonel, and his services as assistant quartermaster-general, he had been constantly reported by that regiment as in command of one of its companies during the last three years of the war. This precaution, so little consonant to our modern

views of military propriety, now stood him in good stead, securing him a safe though humble retreat.

For the present, then, Kalb was only a captain, with the rank of lieutenant-colonel; but, of course, he was little disposed to rest content with this subordinate position. Very justly reflecting that with a court where all advancement depended upon the personal favor or caprice of those in power, personal solicitation was indispensable to success, he procured a furlough for six months and hastened to Paris, determined to secure a position commensurate with his rank in one of the foreign regiments. He applied to the Duc de Choiseul and the Prince Soubise, put his personal friends and late superiors, General Wurmser, Saarfeld, and Vogué in motion, and endeavored to make interest with Dubois, the functionary of the war department to whom the nomination of officers was intrusted. He received on all hands the most unqualified approbation of his services and the fairest promises for the future; but the professions were not made good, and the summer passed away without any change in Kalb's condition. About this time a vacant lieutenant-colonelcy for which he made application, was bestowed upon an officer sustaining more intimate relations to the minister. There were rumors of a plan to appoint eight additional staff officers for each of the three armies of the kingdom, four of each of the eight to be assistant quartermasters-general. Kalb solicited the recommendation of the Marquis de Castries, who pledged him his support for one of these positions, and made every effort in his behalf; but the plan was never carried out, and our hero had garnered up an additional disappointment.

Weary of hope deferred and thoroughly tired of his fruitless stay at Paris, although his furlough lasted till Octo-

ber, he was on the point of returning to the province and assuming the command of his company, when an unexpected turn in his private affairs put an end, for the time, to his ambitious schemes. This sudden event was his betrothal, shortly followed by his marriage with Anna Elizabeth Emilie van Robais.[12]

Among Kalb's numerous acquaintances dating from his then stay at the capital, was that of M. Peter van Robais, formerly a cloth manufacturer at Abbeville, but who had retired from business for several years. He was the grandson of a Hollander whom Colbert had induced to settle in France, and whose deserts in improving the cloth manufacture of France had been rewarded by Louis XV. with a patent of nobility. The business established by him rapidly became one of the most extensive in the country, and not only laid the foundation of a large patrimony, but proved a source of abundant income to his descendants. Peter van Robais, since making over the factory to his son-in-law, lived with his wife and the above-named younger daughter in plain, but comfortable retirement at Courbevoye, near Paris. It was probably the community of religious persuasion—both being Protestants—which first brought him in contact with Kalb. The latter soon became a welcome frequenter of his house, and still more quickly won the heart of the young lady, who is represented as accomplished, sprightly, and beautiful, and who plighted him her troth in the winter of 1763 to 1764. The wedding took place on the 10th of April, 1764, the marriage ceremony being performed in the Protestant chapel of the Dutch legation. This union proved to be one of the happiest ever known. In marked contrast to the dissolute manners of the time, Kalb lived exclusively for his

family, while his wife, in her turn, was no less devotedly attached to her husband than solicitous of the welfare of her children. The warmth of this attachment remained unaltered to the hour of Kalb's death, and his last letters to his wife breathe the same fervor which had inspired the first and all the others. Even the pecuniary circumstances of the new family were, from the first, all that could be desired. While Kalb himself could only contribute his pension and 52,000 francs, his bride, in addition to a rich trousseau, received 135,375 francs; and in 1767, after the decease of her parents and grandparents, she inherited the homestead at Courbevoye and 205,406 francs, a fortune still further increased in 1776, when the death of some collateral relatives brought her other real estate and 84,000 francs in money; so that the entire property of husband and wife must have amounted to about half a million of francs, or a hundred thousand dollars, a sum which, for those times, was very considerable. I have been particular in extracting these estimates from the official calculations and distributions before me, because they constitute the best refutation to the surmises occasionally thrown out in the United States, that Kalb took service under a foreign flag for the benefit of his exchequer.

Under the circumstances it was but natural for Kalb to give up his company and to remain at or near Paris with his young wife in the neighborhood of her parents. He abandoned his former projects, and was glad to retire in 1764 upon his pension as lieutenant-colonel.

This voluntary repose, however, was destined to be of short duration. A year had not elapsed since his marriage when Kalb, tired of inaction, made another vigorous effort

to enter into service. The celebrated Count William of Schaumburg-Lippe, reared in the martial school of Frederick the Great and the Duke of Brunswick, who, during the closing years of the Seven Years' War had served in Portugal, and had successfully repulsed the invasion of the Spaniards, had returned to Germany in 1764, charged, among other things, with raising three German regiments for the Portuguese service, to prepare for the apprehended return of hostilities. Kalb at once resolved to offer the Portuguese field-marshal his services as Brigadier, in the hope of returning, after a few successful campaigns, to the French army as a general. His old patron, the Duc de Broglie, a personal acquaintance of Count William, approved of Kalb's design, and not only gave him a warm letter of recommendation himself, but procured him another from the English general, Robert Clerke,[18] who was on terms of intimate friendship with Count Lippe.

"Lieutenant-colonel de Kalb," says Broglie, "is one of the best and most efficient officers of my acquaintance, and as expert in the details of the service as versed in the science of war. In the late war I have found him extremely useful and reliable, and can recommend him unqualifiedly as an excellent general." "M. de Kalb," wrote the duke's brother, the Count de Broglie, at the same time, "went through the whole of the late war with me as assistant quartermaster-general, and is deserving of your protection in the highest degree. To what my brother has written in reference to him I can only add that de Kalb is an officer no less intelligent and well-informed than brave and indefatigable. I doubt whether you could find a more fitting man for the organization and instruction of your troops. It is neither

the want of means nor the desire of riches that prompts Lieu tenant-colonel de Kalb to seek service abroad. His circumstances are very good, but he craves a congenial occupation, his present inactivity having become insupportable to him."

Armed with these weighty recommendations, Kalb left for Bückeburg in the beginning of March, 1765, in company of a M. de Trevisany, and presented himself to Count William on the 16th day of the same month. His reception was most cordial; the count did his utmost to induce the Portuguese Government to make the appointment, but the negotiations, after being protracted for two years, fell to the ground, because the pending difficulties were peaceably adjusted, contrary to expectation, and the idea of enlisting foreign troops renounced. After his return in 1766, Kalb even conceived the design of going to Lisbon himself to speed his suit, but was strongly dissuaded by Count Lippe, and desisted. When the latter repaired to Lisbon by way of Paris in 1767, Kalb had already left France for the Hague on a secret mission intrusted to him by the Duc de Choiseul.

The task thus imposed upon our hero introduced him to the labyrinth of European politics, and turned his fortunes into a direction in which they were destined to continue through life. To enable us to follow him intelligently it will be necessary to enter into a somewhat detailed examination of the plans of the French minister, with particular reference to his attitude toward the English Government.

The Duc de Choiseul (1719 to 1785) having distinguished himself as French Ambassador at Rome and at Vienna, between 1753 and 1758, had assumed the reins of government toward the close of the latter year. Although mainly indebted for his elevation to the favor of Madame de Pompadour, he

was yet one of the greatest if not the greatest French states man since the days of Richelieu. The latter achieved his diplomatic and political triumphs at the rising tide of the national power, and while the monarchy was scaling the pinnacle of European supremacy, while the administration of the latter, from 1758 to 1770, coincides with the national decay and the waning authority of the sovereign; but this very palpable difference must not prevent us from doing justice to the great qualities and eminent merits of either. Choiseul directed against England the same untiring zeal, the same iron fortitude, and the same comprehensive energy which Richelieu had exercised to break the power of Austria. If success did not always reward his efforts, the fault was not so much in the intrepid statesman as in the altered state of political affairs. Almost in the same year in which Choiseul assumed the direction of the French Government, the triumph of British supremacy on land and sea was achieved on the battle-fields of Germany and on the heights of Quebec. The constant aim of Pitt and of those who had succeeded him in office, to humble the Bourbons at any cost, and to reduce them to the former limits of their power, was at last accomplished. At the peace of Paris (1763), France lost all her possessions on the American continent, retaining only her Newfoundland fishery and two little islands, which were not to be garrisoned with more than fifty men; she was driven from her conquests on the Ganges and her advantageous positions on the Senegal, and was even compelled to look on while England snatched the whole of Florida from the grasp of the Spaniards to punish them for their French alliance. The cabinet of Versailles had lost credit at home and abroad; the army, by a succession of defeats, had forfeited its ancient fame. The navy and the

foreign commerce of the country had almost ceased to exist. Even the coasting trade was languishing; the few remaining craft huddled in the ports, and almost dreaded to navigate the Mediterranean. Against an enemy thus powerful and thus implacable, who knew neither fear nor favor, who welcomed and fostered as England's gain every incident and every bargain fraught with injury to France—against such a foe but a single course was open to a French minister who understood his position: it was, to direct all the arms and all the policy, all the spirit and enterprise of his people against the interests of England. From the first day of his official life Choiseul acted up to his appreciation of this necessity. As ambassador he had essentially advanced the schemes of the Abbé Bernis for a French alliance with Austria; on assuming the ministry of foreign affairs, it was one of his first acts to prepare and subsequently (in July, 1761) to conclude the so-called Bourbon family compact, a defensive and offensive alliance of France with Spain, Naples, and Parma, the whole drift of which was hostile to England. Choiseul's next object was the restoration of the French navy, and the resumption of the struggle for the mastery of the seas. Ere many years had elapsed, a splendid navy of sixty-four line of battle-ships and thirty-six frigates, commanded by distinguished leaders such as Bougainville, and manned with sturdy tars and an excellent corps of marines, was awaiting the return of the war which, this time, promised to break out in America.

In the English colonies of this continent, the attempts of the mother country to exercise the power of taxation over them had produced great discontent and indignation. The enormous debt of the United Kingdom, greatly increased in the course of the Seven Years' War, seemed to make it neces-

sary, as even Pitt had proposed to raise contributions from the colonies. Not long after the conclusion of peace, on the 22d of March 1765, the Grenville ministry procured the passage of the Stamp Act, which was intended to go into force on the 1st of November of the same year, but which was practically annulled by the obstinate resistance of the colonists, and was formally repealed on the 28th of March, 1768. It was on this occasion that the first symptoms of colonial insubordination attracted attention on the other side of the Atlantic, magnified by the distance, and exaggerated by the voice of rumor. No one welcomed them more cordially than Choiseul. Heretofore he had endeavored to make up for the ground lost in America and the East Indies by stimulating the prosperity of the French Antilles, and extending the influence of France in the Mediterranean. In consequence of his measures St. Domingo, Guadaloupe, and Martinique began to develop their immense resources, and to attain an incalculable importance to the mother country. Ever since 1763, his emissaries, among whom was Dumouriez, who became so notorious in the French revolution, had labored to extend the sceptre of France over the island of Corsica, which, like Canada, produced the most excellent ship timber, and which promised to furnish a safe harbor and a convenient entrepot for the Levantine trade. In the ports of the other African States his agents were no less indefatigable in enlarging the sphere of his influence. The importance of these operations in the Levante was still further enchanced by the circumstance that the manufactories of Languedoc had engaged largely in the production of "Londres," a fabric of the sale of which England had hitherto enjoyed a monopoly in these regions. The increased number of counting-houses in Asia Minor, Syria, and Palestine,

of course raised the standing of the French consulates. At the same time Choiseul was intent upon the plan, resumed, a generation later, by Napoleon, of bringing Egypt under French suzerainty, and making it the base of operations for expeditions in the Mediterranean and Indian Seas, by which it was intended to expel the English from the coast of Coromandel and the shores of the Ganges, and to lend a vigorous support to the operations of Hyder Ali.[14] French officers disciplined the Sultan's troops, and improved the organization of the Turkish army; French emissaries fomented hostilities against England in the East Indies; nor were the farthest East and the remote West more closely watched, than the courts and embassies of Europe. In short, there was not a single point where the wary and alert minister had not his agents, spies, and instruments for the aggrandizement of France and the injury of England.

As was to be expected, the perplexities in which Great Britain was involved by the dispute with her American colonies, interested Choiseul in the highest degree.[15] Here was the vulnerable point where he could hope to wound the hated adversary, here was a rest for the lever with which to unseat him, here was the long-desired opportunity of restoring France to her former influence and her position of arbiter in the councils of Europe. The earliest rumors of the resistance of the Americans to the efforts of the mother country to raise revenue from them, had no sooner penetrated to the French capital (1764), than Choiseul sent an agent, in the person of M. de Pontleroy, on a tour of observation, from which the latter returned in the year 1766, bringing the most favorable reports of what he had heard and seen.[16]

He described the land as rich in all the productions of the soil, especially grain and iron; he enlarged upon its inexhaustible stock of timber and its spacious harbors; he represented the inhabitants as enterprising, as rapidly improving in wealth and numbers, and as thoroughly conscious of their strength. The English troops were found to be scattered over the country in small detachments, so as to be able to accomplish very little. It was suggested that even England could not but be in the imminence of a revolution, which, indeed, she had herself accelerated in annexing Canada, and thus relieving her colonies of the fear of a French invasion.

This flattering report was corroborated by the proud answer of the Assembly of Massachusetts to the royal governor, by the bold demands of the colonies, by the revolutionary speeches of Patrick Henry, by the circumspect but decided attitude of James Otis, and by the opposition of the American people to the measures of the British ministry. In all this there was reason enough to suppose that the day of reckoning, and the hour of England's humiliation, had at last arrived.

The further progress of events in America, though far from rapid, was steadily adverse to the interests of the mother country. The colonies disputed the right of Parliament to lay taxes, and declared, as early as 1766, that the will of the people is the final and only source of supreme power. It was especially the resistance of Massachusetts and New York which exasperated the English cabinet, and became the subject of a heated debate in the House of Lords toward the end of March and the beginning of April, 1767. "Let us deliberate no longer," cried Charles Townsend;

"let us act with vigor, now, while we can call the colonies ours. If you do not, they will very soon be lost for ever."

The acrimonious tone of the discussion, the overwrought coloring of the opposition offered to the crown by the colonies, and the dread, partly real and partly affected, of the breaking out of actual hostilities, professed by the Parliament and the ministers, combined to mislead Choiseul into the belief that the great American insurrection was at hand. And yet the tax on tea was not voted before the 15th of May, 1767. If he anticipated the fulfilment of his wishes by eight years, the error was highly pardonable in one unacquainted with the tenacity of Anglo-American forbearance, and with the centrifugal tendencies of these new settlements, unsuited in every respect to revolutionary action. But from this time Choiseul sought in every quarter accurate accounts of the progress of opinion in America, alike in the writings of Franklin, the reports current among the best-informed merchants, and even in New England sermons, from which curious extracts are to this day preserved among the State Papers of France. His judgment on events, though biassed by national hatred, was more impartial and clear than that of any British minister who succeeded Shelburne.

In order to sift all vague and extravagant rumors, and ascertain the real state of the case, Choiseul resolved once more to send an agent to America, and selected for that purpose the subject of this memoir, who, after a retirement of several years, had been reintroduced to the minister, some months before, by the intervention of the Prince Soubise. At the close of the year 1766, in the confident expectation of a rupture with England, Choiseul had increased the complement of the regiments, and placed the northwestern

coast in a state of defence. These measures called for the appointment of additional engineers and staff-officers, and the formation of a new staff for the northern department. Kalb was designed for one of these positions, and was charged, in the first instance, with the survey of the frontiers, under General Bourcet. "You are hereby informed," wrote Choiseul to Kalb from Versailles, the 20th of April, 1767, "that his Majesty has included you among the list of officers who are to be employed this year in the survey of the country. You will visit the coast from Dunkirk to Calais, and take up your headquarters in the first-named of these towns. You will there receive, from the paymaster of the forces, five hundred francs for the duration of your services. I rely upon receiving accurate reports of the execution of your mission."

Kalb repaired to Versailles on the 22d of April, to receive the minister's final instructions. He was not a little astonished to be told by M. Dubois, the chief clerk of the ministry of war, that his destination had been altered in the mean time, and that the duke's private secretary, M. Appony, was directed to draw up special instructions for a secret mission to America, on which Kalb was to be appointed. Dubois therefore advised him to see Appony before waiting on the minister. The secretary communicated to Kalb the instructions he had written at Choiseul's dictation, which were soon after handed him by Dubois. They read as follows:

"1. M. de Kalb will repair to Amsterdam, and there direct his particular attention to the rumors in circulation about the English colonies. Should they appear to be well founded, he will immediately make preparations for a journey to America.

"2. On his arrival, he will inquire into the intentions of the inhabitants, and endeavor to ascertain whether they are in need of good engineers and artillery officers, or other individuals, and whether they should be supplied with them.

"3. He will inform himself of their facilities for procuring supplies, and will find out what quantities of munitions of war and provisions they are able to procure.

"4. He will acquaint himself with the greater or lesser strength of their purpose to withdraw from the English Government.

"5. He will examine their resources in troops, fortified places, and forts, and will seek to discover their plan of revolt, and the leaders who are expected to direct and control it.

"6. Great reliance is placed in the intelligence and address of M. de Kalb in the pursuit of a mission requiring an uncommon degree of tact and shrewdness, and he is expected to report progress as often as possible."

Kalb at first showed very little inclination to accept this delicate commission. He started various objections, and dwelt particularly on the numberless difficulties growing out of his total want of preparation for such a journey. Without combating these arguments, Dubois referred him to the Duc de Choiseul.

"Do not decline the mission with which I have intrusted you," said the latter. "I know that it is difficult, and requires great sagacity. But I have fixed my choice upon you after much deliberation, and know that you will see no reason to regret it. Ask of me the means which you think necessary for its execution; I will furnish you with them all."

Kalb hesitated no longer, the minister having given him

time to arrange his private affairs, and allowed him to postpone his departure to the end of May. On the 2d of that month he was already furnished by Choiseul with his passports, to Holland in the first instance, with twelve hundred francs for his travelling expenses, and with letters of introduction to the French ambassadors at the Hague and at Brussels, and was directed to forward all despatches through their hands, and to enclose secret communications to the duke separately sealed, in his official reports. He left for Holland in the beginning of June, and dated his first report to Choiseul from the Hague, the 15th of July, 1767, as follows:

"To inform myself of all the occurrences in the American colonies, I have now visited all the seaports of Holland without being able to come to any definite conclusion as to the state of affairs in that quarter. The English give out that hostilities are entirely at an end, in consequence of the repeal of the stamp act and the other obnoxious measures; but this may be said for effect, and to conceal the *actual* condition of things. Two or three days ago I conversed with a German who has been settled in Pennsylvania these fifteen years, and who is now recruiting fresh colonists. By his account, agitation is so far from being allayed that but a very trifling provocation would suffice to drive the malcontents into open revolt. The provincial assembly, he says, have resolved to maintain their privileges at any cost; and twenty thousand English troops, widely scattered over the country, could hardly cope with the forces at the disposal of the colonists, which number four hundred thousand militia, and could easily be increased. The Germans of this and the neighboring provinces alone—continues my informant—independently of the numerous Irishmen living there, can raise

sixty thousand men, nor is there any lack of means for the defence of the liberties of the country. As to other resources for the successful conduct of the war, this man could give me no information. Indeed, I am only repeating his assertions, without being convinced of their truth.

"I therefore await your commands, Monseigneur, to betake myself to Philadelphia or some other point in the colonies, and report to you in reference to all the heads specified in my letter of instructions. It should be observed that the English colonies, or rather the mercantile companies who have large interests there, continue to solicit colonists in Germany, in public and in secret, as before. I have seen twelve hundred of these emigrants at Rotterdam, travelling from Cologne by way of Maestricht and Herzogenbusch, as they were cut off from the Rhine, because the King of Prussia has forbidden them to pass through his dominions. These people have been shipped in four vessels, two of which have set sail, while the remainder are only waiting for luggage."

Soon after the despatch of this letter news arrived from America which announced a more peaceful state of feeling as having resulted from the concessions made by Great Britain, and which pointed to the probability of a truce between the mother country and her colonies. Kalb therefore regarded a longer sojourn in Holland as superfluous, and wrote on the 11th of August for further instructions.

"As it is possible, and even probable," answered Choiseul, from Compiègne, the 19th of August, "that this quiet will not be of long duration, it is the will of His Majesty that you should make immediate preparations for a speedy tour to America, in order to satisfy yourself by personal inspection

as to the condition of the country, its harbors, ships, land forces, resources, weapons, munitions of war, and provisions—in short, as to the means at our command if disposed, in case of a war with England, to make a diversion in that direction. You will adopt the greatest precautions in sending me your report, and will, immediately upon your arrival, inform me where to direct such letters as I shall have occasion to write you."

In obedience to this order Kalb quitted the Hague for London about the close of September, 1767, after having spent the greater part of the month in writing out for Choiseul a report in reference to such subjects of France as the Russian Government had induced to settle in its territories. On the 1st of October he writes from London, "I arrived here after a short, though stormy passage. The packet boat from Falmouth to New York does not leave, as I was told in Holland, on the first, but on the second Saturday of every month; so that I could not go by that line before the 10th of October. I prefer, therefore, to take the merchantman Hercules, Captain Hommet, which sets sail from Gravesend to-morrow for Philadelphia. I shall report as soon as I can do so with any security. Be so good, Monseigneur, as to send your commands and answers in the same (my) cypher to Madame de Kalb; she will forward them to me in pursuance of directions already given, and still to be given. It is hoped that these letters will be less likely to arouse the suspicion and curiosity of the various correspondents and agents, of whose services I must necessarily avail myself. In conclusion, Monseigneur, I would recall to your mind the promises kindly made me on my departure from France, beseeching you to be a father and protector to my wife and children if it should be written in

the book of fate that the journey upon which I am setting out should lead directly to my final resting-place."

Kalb went on board of the Hercules on the 4th of October. The voyage to Philadelphia—long, perilous, and fraught with hardships beyond all precedent even for those times—lasted until the 12th of January, 1768.

CHAPTER IV.

Kalb in America.—His First Report from Philadelphia.—Public Sentiment.—Energy of Boston.—Moderation of Philadelphia.—Conduct of the Troops and their General.—The Colonies too Weak to Repel Force by Force.—They Desire no Foreign Alliance.—Their Natural Advantages at the Opening of Hostilities.—Kalb's Second Report from Philadelphia, dated the 20th of January.—The Disturbances Increase.—Distrust and Discontent of the People.—Commercial Importance of the Colonies for the Mother Country.—Kalb goes to New York.—Is Shipwrecked in New York Bay.—Harrowing Particulars of the Accident.—Kalb's Third Report from New York, February 25, 1768.—The Opposition of the Colonies on the Increase.—The Question of Taxation.—Bad Policy of the English Government.—Independent Spirit of the American People.—Their National Existence must be the Work of Time.—Strength of the English Garrisons.—Kalb's Fourth Report from Boston, March 2, 1768.—Greater Acrimony in New England.—Massachusetts takes the Lead in the Resistance to English Measures.—The Mother Country will Give Way.—Flourishing Condition of the Commerce and Internal Industry of New England.—Kalb goes to Halifax.—Its Harbor.—The Intended Journey Across Lake Champlain Given Up on Account of the Thaw.—Kalb's Opinion of the Canadians.—They are no longer French in their Way of Thinking.—Kalb returns to Europe from New York, end of April, 1768.—Arrives at Dover on the 1st of June, and at Paris on the 12th.—His Audience with Choiseul is Delayed.—Kalb's Estimate of the English Resources is Considered Extravagant by the Minister.—Kalb Submits Weekly Translations of His Letters and Newspapers from America.—His Memorial of August 6, 1768.—Summary of Kalb's Opinions.—They Correspond with those of the Most Able and Best Informed of his Contemporaries.—Toward the Close of the Year 1768 Choiseul's Interest in Kalb and his Reports on America Diminishes.—Corsica Absorbs his Attention.—Choiseul's Plans in Regard to Spain.—Finds Fault with Kalb's Return as Premature.—Assigns

HIM A REWARD AND PROMISES HIM A BRIGADIER'S COMMISSION.—CHOISEUL'S FALL.—KALB'S DESERTS UNDER HIS DIRECTION.—POLITICAL SITUATION IN GENERAL.—VERGENNES SUBSEQUENTLY REVIVES THE DESIGNS OF CHOISEUL.

WHEN Kalb landed in America, the excitement caused by the adoption and repeal of the stamp act, instead of being allayed, had been considerably augmented by the tax on tea voted in May, 1767, by the New York billeting act, and the force bill. It was just in January, 1768, that Massachusetts renewed her agitation against the home government, and invited all the colonies to coöperate in convening a congress, which was to obtain a certain and speedy redress of grievances.

Let us now hear Kalb's opinion of the state of things, without forgetting that as a stranger in a foreign land it was only by degrees that he could acquire an understanding of what was going on around him.

"I am beginning to study the matters relating to my commission," such is the literal import of his first letter to Choiseul, written the 15th of January, 1768, three days after his arrival at Philadelphia, "and am in a fair way to procure reliable information as to the discontent produced in the colonies by the passage of the stamp act. This affair is very far from being adjusted. It is not the case, as was alleged in Holland, that the repeal of the act was voluntary on the part of the Government; on the contrary, although each province has its own separate and distinct assembly, they all refused to acquiesce in the measure with the same decision and unanimity as if they had jointly deliberated upon their line of action. Some, it is true, were more violent than others, but the substance of each refusal was the same.

The most violent of these provincial assemblies were those of Boston and Philadelphia, where the commissioners of the new impost were even threatened in their persons. Boston has promptly renounced all commercial intercourse with London, refuses to import any more wares, and expresses a determination to content itself with the productions and domestic fabrics of the country. The women even discard tea and foreign sugar, and we are constantly told of the activity of the spinning-wheels, which have been at work, ever since the promulgation of the act, to supersede the use of English linens. With the same object the women have resolved to dispense with silks and articles of luxury, until their own country shall be in a condition to furnish them. The question is how long they will adhere to this resolution. I do not believe that Philadelphia will adopt the same policy. Although the youngest of the chief towns of the north, it is the wealthiest and most luxurious. Besides, the provincial assembly of Pennsylvania has evinced greater moderation in this respect. For the moment it is difficult to tell what the end will be. All depends upon the policy of the court, which promises to be a conciliatory one, as the advantage derived by the British people from their connection with the colonies is too great to permit the Government to stop short of any efforts to preserve this invaluable magazine of raw productions, and this most profitable market for its manufactures.

"During the last outbreaks the troops have treated the inhabitants with much greater circumspection than before, while the commanders have been most careful to avoid any cause of irritation. The commanding general, who has power to convene the estates of each province, to preside over

them, and to suppress all attempts to impair the authority of the laws, pretends to ignore all the libels and pasquils which have appeared in public, and the names of the authors of which are in everybody's mouth. This circumstance induces me to suppose that the court have given orders to this effect, and have intended nothing but a simple experiment.

"The present condition of the colonies is not such as to enable them to repel force by force; but their value to the mother country is their best safeguard against any violation of their real or imaginary privileges. I have not yet found time to inform myself as to their troops and other warlike resources, but am on the point of making a tour through all the provinces, and to open correspondence at all important points, in order to enable myself to acquaint you more fully with all matters of interest.

"If you have any commands for me, be pleased, Monseigneur, to have them written in the same cypher, and sent to my wife, who has the necessary directions for forwarding them.

"The remoteness of this population from their centre of government makes them free and enterprising; but at bottom they are but little inclined to shake off the English supremacy with the aid of foreign powers. Such an alliance would appear to them to be fraught with danger to their liberties. Their taxes are very light; indeed, with the exception of the duties on imported goods, they amount to almost nothing. The crown has even relieved the colonies of the support of a regiment of four thousand men, so that now all the troops stationed in the colonies are in the pay of England. This policy is evidently necessary under the circumstances. The

troops are frequently changed, every regiment being recalled after the lapse of three years, and replaced by another.

"In case of an insurrection the colonists would have nothing but their militia to depend upon, which, though very numerous, is not in the least disciplined. On the other hand, the immense extent of the country, the want of ready money, the discord among the governors of the various provinces, all independent of each other, present great obstacles to the formation of an army, and the speedy opening of hostilities in the respective neighborhoods. The odium in which the House of Commons is held, is only equalled by the popularity of Pitt. He is called the defender of liberty, because he was the only one who opposed the stamp act in Parliament."

This first letter was shortly followed by a second, dated at Philadelphia, the 20th of January 1768, which contains more of the personal impressions and self-acquired views of Kalb, while the first depended largely on hearsay.

"I had the honor, Monseigneur," he continues, "of writing you on the 15th of this month. I hope my letter has arrived in safety. I shall avail myself of every ship sailing from this port to report progress.

"By a letter from my wife, dated the 7th of October, just received, I learn with the greatest alarm that my last from Holland and London had been opened before reaching you. This gives me reason to apprehend that those sent from this country will either meet with the same fate or not reach your hands at all. In the latter case I should be cut off from all news from you, without being able to estimate the perils growing out of such a state of things.

"I am inclined to think, therefore, that it would be best

to abridge my stay in this country, and to return home with additional precautions, if this should meet with your approv al. Permit me, therefore, to set out at the end of April. I shall await your commands to this end, and in the mean time shall use every effort to perform the task imposed upon me, taking measures to provide myself with full information on the affairs of this country after my departure.

"The disturbances caused by the stamp act seem to increase from day to day, instead of diminishing. The English Government have certainly repealed the law, on discovering that they were without the means of enforcing it; but they have sanctioned another act of the House of Commons, taxing tea, paper, and glass, which the colonies import from the mother country. This is a circuitous way of attaining the object of Parliament; at any other time it would have excited no opposition, as the Government has always exercised the right of taxing goods exported to the colonies."

But the stamp act has so chafed the minds of the people, that the act last mentioned, which at any other time would have attracted but little attention, is now regarded in the light of a fresh attempt upon their liberties. It is said that the impost has only changed its name, and that the revenue, formerly sought to be raised by means of the stamp act, is now the object of the tea tax; that it is contrary to all the rights of the subjects of the crown to tax them without their consent; that the colonies are on a level with all other subjects, and that, as they have no representatives in the lower house, England ought to be content with the profits it derives from selling them worthless goods at high prices, and purchasing necessaries from them for a song; that the enormous amounts of Spanish gold and silver annually shipped from the

colonies to England, without any return of specie payments, sufficiently prove that the ultimate advantage is not on the side of the Americans, and that, finally, this inequality in the weights of trade makes it evident that they are treated more like slaves than like children and fellow-citizens. These acts, therefore, are considered so many violations of their privileges, and revive all their grievances which the colonists claim to have suffered at the hands of the home government. The Americans complain that they are prevented from working their mines; that prohibitions were launched against their smithies and forges, so soon as it was discovered that the manufacture of iron had so much improved as to be almost equal to that of England; that government have prevented the establishment of various manufactories; that, in consequence of unjust interdictions, the colonies have lost their trade with New Spain, the Spanish Main, and the islands of foreign powers, thus being deprived of the supplies of ready money required to make their English payments. The Americans further contend that they are burdened with troops, not for purposes of defence, but for those of subjugation; that the expenses of constructing and repairing the barracks and furnishing the supplies fall upon the provinces; that they have been forbidden to expand their paper issues, while they find it impossible to maintain their commerce at home and abroad with the little ready money remaining, as almost all the gold and silver has gone across the ocean, and that in consequence it is impossible to meet accruing liabilities; that failures are occurring every day, and that universal distress must needs ensue.

"In my opinion the diminution of specie is real, but there is reason to suppose that it is hoarded on account of the dis-

turbed state of affairs. I cannot believe the statements made in regard to the sums exported to England; it is pretended that the article of tea alone has netted them three hundred thousand pounds. As soon as I can obtain an insight into this matter, I shall report upon it. The result of all these facts is, that the colonies are more than ever willing to retrench their expenditures, and live exclusively upon their own productions. In Boston a number of wealthy men have just formed an association for the purpose of assisting the various trades and manufactures by loans of money. If the country adheres to its determination to import no goods from England, the trade and the credit of the mother country must inevitably fall off, its manufactories must fail, and its workingmen be deprived of their livelihoods. And if the court should undertake to cure this evil by imposing additional taxes or prohibiting the erection of new manufactories, sedition will follow, and the breach be beyond healing. All these contingencies will depend in a great degree on the course pursued by the next Parliament. I have already mentioned in my last, that the provinces, after having separately deliberated on the attitude to be assumed in regard to the stamp act, have disregarded the order forbidding them to communicate their proceedings to each other, and have held a general convention of deputies from the different States. The prohibition against such gatherings has been reiterated.

"In a few days I hope to have the honor of writing to you from New York."

Kalb quitted Philadelphia for New York on the 25th of January, 1768. At that time, especially in the winter season, the journey occupied as many days as it now does hours. After encountering great difficulties in crossing the Delaware

and Raritan, and travelling three days in getting to Princeton, Kalb reached the shore opposite Staten Island on the 28th, whence he was obliged to cross the Kill. It was between seven and eight o'clock in the evening, the weather extremely cold, and the ground covered with snow. The passage, however, was considered entirely safe by the landlord of the Blazing Star, the inn at the landing, and by the ferrymen, as there was but little ice in the river, and a fair wind blowing. The boat accordingly started from the shore with its nine passengers, including Kalb, and four horses.[18] But no sooner had it reached the middle of the current than the wind veered round, and the frail craft drifted helplessly before it upon a little island, distant about half a mile from the ferry and from the mouth of Fishkill Creek, where it sank with the horses and baggage, while the passengers saved themselves partly by swimming and partly by wading through the mud and ice. The whole island was without house, tree, or shelter of any kind against the piercing cold. Standing up to their waists in the marsh, the unfortunates shouted in vain for help; their cries were unheard, as the wind came off shore, and directly in their teeth. Nothing was left for them to do but to huddle together as closely as possible, and save themselves from freezing to death by exercise and watchfulness. Exhausted by this protracted struggle with the elements, one or two gave themselves up to sleep, for which of course they paid the forfeit of their lives. As eleven o'clock expired a boy belonging to the ferry, followed, at three o'clock in the morning, by a passenger, Mr. George, who sank into the sleep of death in spite of all the efforts of his companions to keep him awake. The rest survived the night of horrors, and were descried from shore at about nine o'clock in the

morning. Benumbed and unconscious, scarcely able to use their limbs, they were loaded upon a sledge, and conveyed to the house of a Mr. Merserau. Kalb at once proceeded to bathe his feet and legs for a quarter of an hour in icy-cold water, then took some refreshments, went to bed, and slept till evening. He was the only one of the party who escaped without injury. The surgeon who had been sent for, when told of this treatment, never looked at him, but declared that the man who had trifled with himself in that manner, must be lying dead in his bed. The others, who, on entering the house, had crowded around a large fire, irritated the chilblains and lost their toes, one of them even a leg, another both his ears, and a third his fingers. Kalb, who figures in the account of the disaster given by the "New York Gazette" of February 8, 1768, as a German colonel, lost all his baggage, containing several hundred louis d'ors, the badge of his order, and the key to his cypher. He was able to proceed to New York on the 31st of January, but his reports to the Duke of Choiseul were interrupted until the latter part of February.

"The colonies," he writes on the 25th of February, "seem to intrench themselves more and more in their system of opposition and of economy. It is said that the merchants of London are already beginning to perceive the effects of this policy; that in consequence of it the wages of labor are falling off; that a number of the trades, by combining among themselves, have destroyed the business of those who worked for less than the established prices. But on all these points you, Monseigneur, must necessarily be better informed than I am.

"The Assembly at Boston have just resolved to remon-

strate with the court against the tea tax, as will appear by the accompanying English documents, which I enclose in the original, in order to excite less suspicion in case the letter should be intercepted. The dissatisfaction with the impost grows out of their aversion to being taxed by the Parliament, instead of by the representatives of their own provinces. It would seem to me that the Court of St. James mistakes its own interest. If the king would ask the colonies for sums much larger than the proceeds of the imposts in dispute, they would be granted without any objection, provided the colonists were left at liberty to tax themselves, and, as free subjects, to give their money with their own consent. During the late war they have paid enormous sums, larger ones than the king demanded, because he approached their assemblies with the same formalities as he observed in calling upon Parliament for subsidies. It is a matter of surprise that the court has discarded this advantageous method, and that the people of Great Britain are ready to subvert the fundamental polity of the kingdom by taxing their fellow-citizens without their consent, when they submit to the same proceeding only at the hands of their representatives in the House of Commons.

"The colonies have the same right; they can only be taxed by their own assemblies. The king would, therefore, have to make an application for that purpose to every single colony. But the colonies themselves would not favor this last alternative, partly on account of the expense involved, and partly on account of the certainty of finding themselves in a minority on all occasions, which would unavoidably constrain them to participate in every war waged in Europe by England or by the elector of Hanover. They would

prefer a parliament or a continental assembly, a power which, however, would soon become dangerous to the crown. All classes of people here are imbued with such a spirit of independence and freedom from control, that if all the provinces can be united under a common representation, an independent State will soon be formed. *At all events it will certainly come forth in time.* Whatever may be done in London, this country is growing too powerful to be much longer governed at so great a distance. The population is now estimated at three millions, and is expected to double itself in less than thirty years. It is not to be denied that children swarm everywhere like ants. The people are strong and robust, and even the English officers admit that the militia are equal to the line in every particular.

"I have not yet obtained accurate information as to the number of the militia, but shall soon be able to submit a reliable report. The English troops under General Gage, occupying the country from New England to the Gulf of Mexico, muster sixteen regiments, each of ten companies, numbering seventy men in time of peace and a hundred in time of war, besides a company of artillery and a number of engineers. I believe I have already mentioned that these troops are changed every three years, and are never recruited from the inhabitants of the country.

"From conversations with several prominent individuals here, I have learned that the English Government greatly regrets having made peace with Spain without demanding the cession of the island of Porto Rico, the position of which is in every respect so favorable to English interests. Under the pretext of protecting their trade, the English Government has many men of war at sea and a large number of troops on

the continent, not to mention those already stationed on the islands. It is evident that these forces are so distributed for the special purpose of being prepared to pounce upon the French and Spanish settlements on these islands at the first speck of war. That the English have treated as good prizes several ships captured near the island of San Juan in the course of last year, you have doubtless been informed.

"Enclosed are the compacts entered into between the Government and the Assembly of Pennsylvania, which will explain my recent statement relating to the war with the savages. On my return to France I shall report the exact list of the English navy and merchant marine, as well as a summary of the entire forces of England by land and sea. I am on the point of leaving for Boston and Halifax; my ship is weighing her anchor."

"Here in Boston," Kalb proceeds in his report to Choiseul on the 2d of March, 1768, "I meet with the same opinions as in the provinces already visited, only expressed with greater violence and acrimony. The four provinces composing New England—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire—appear to be more firmly united among themselves, in consequence of the community of interests, than the remaining colonies. Massachusetts in particular, the most wealthy and populous, gives the impulse and the signal of independence to the rest. In spite of this restive spirit, however, they all, from the leaders down to the humblest citizen, seem to be imbued with a heartfelt love of the mother country. The inhabitants of this province are almost exclusively Englishmen or of English stock, and the liberties so long enjoyed by them, have only swelled the pride and presumption peculiar to that people.

"All these circumstances go to show but too clearly that there will be no means of inducing them to accept of assistance from abroad. In fact, they are so well convinced of the justice of their cause, the clemency of the king, and of their own importance to the mother country, that they have never contemplated the possibility of extreme measures. The Government is accused of fomenting the existing discontent for selfish purposes. The enclosed English slip will acquaint you with the internal dissensions on this subject, and reveal the causes of complaint which are urged against the Government. I adhere to the opinion that the incendiaries will not alone succumb, but that the colonies will yet have the satisfaction of seeing the mother country admit herself to have been in the wrong, and do her best to repair it.

"I have engaged correspondents here, who will keep me promptly advised of everything that may occur hereafter. This letter goes by the New York packet for Holland. I myself shall embark two days hence for Halifax, when I shall repair, according to circumstances, to Isle Royale and even to Canada. At this moment I am engaged in collecting materials relative to the number of the militia, to be arranged in the order of their regiments and provinces; I append the particulars relating to the form of government of each colony.

"I am more and more astonished at the immense number of merchantmen to be seen in all the ports, rivers, and bays, from the Potomac and Chesapeake to Boston harbor. And in addition to these, numberless ships are in course of construction. What must have been the trade of the colonies before the disturbances began! Nor am I less struck with the flourishing appearance of the interior. On my return to France I shall report the most minute particulars in this connection.

"By a second letter just received from my wife, I see again that my last lines from Holland and England were opened on their passage. This leads me to fear that my despatches from this country have either met with the same fate, or perhaps have not arrived at all. I therefore incur the risk of remaining entirely without advices from you; an additional reason for my speedy return, which, of course, does not preclude my coming out again, if that should appear to you to be required by the interests of the king's service. This step will enable me to change my correspondents and agents in England and Holland, and to secure better protection for my own correspondence by addresses to be procured from my friends in the chief towns of this country. In this manner I shall be in a condition to protect myself, and guard my secret. The perils and hardships of the journey do not deter me, but I am very anxious to accomplish the ends of my mission. The ship will sail in two hours for Halifax. I close."

After a very quick voyage Kalb reached Halifax on the 7th of March, and there resumed his correspondence with Choiseul. Meeting everywhere with the same style of conversation and the same views on the existing state of the country, as he says in his letter of the 9th of March, he reverts to the declaration that the colonies in all probability would never invoke foreign aid in their efforts to make themselves independent of the King and the Parliament, because time, the increase of population, and the steady increase of material prosperity, would of themselves accomplish the desired change. The harbor of Halifax he describes as one of the most spacious and secure of the continent, and as the general rendezvous for the Royal Navy in the Atlantic Ocean. For this reason the fortifications at Cape Breton had been destroyed, lest they should become injurious to Halifax.

Kalb intended to travel hence to Maine, and thence, if the cold weather continued, to proceed by sleigh to Lake Champlain, returning to New York by the valley of the Hudson. A sudden thaw prevented him from executing the plan. His next report, therefore, was written at Philadelphia so late as the 19th of April, and contains some valuable information relative to the French-Canadians.[19] "There are at this day," he says, "but few persons in those immense provinces in sympathy with France. Those most devoted to our Government have left the country since the close of the war, and those who remain are satisfied with their present Government, or expect no improvement of their condition from a change of rulers. Their lands have risen in value, they pay but trifling taxes, enjoy unqualified freedom of conscience, as well as all the privileges of the English people, and take part in the management of public affairs. Besides, they have become closely allied with the inhabitants of the neighboring provinces by intermarriages and other ties. I regard it as my duty to speak candidly on all these matters, because I will not deceive you, and do not wish you to be deceived by others. In case of a war with our neighbors beyond the Channel it would be difficult, therefore, to make a diversion to this part of their possessions. I always recur to my belief that the quarrels of the English with their colonies will terminate to the satisfaction of the latter. A war with us would only hasten their reconciliation, and, on the footing of restored privileges, the English court could even direct all the troops, resources, and ships of this part of the world against our islands and the Spanish Main. A foreign war is less hurtful to England than internal discord, which, however, would at once yield to the necessity of defence against a common foe."

As Kalb received the most of his private letters with the seal broken, and never had an answer from Choiseul to any of his reports, and as, for this reason, he feared that his correspondence with the latter had been either tampered with or entirely suppressed, he resolved to put an end to this painful uncertainty by instantly returning to France. He accordingly advised the duke of his intention on the 24th of April, 1768, being then at New York, and offered, if necessary, to return at once to America. "Even admitting the possibility of a positive rupture," he writes, "the opening of actual hostilities between the court and the colonies cannot but be far distant, as it presupposes the participation of the people, the shipment of large masses of troops, and extensive levies of soldiers and sailors. On the other hand, the colonies, if hard pressed, would make a pretence of submission, to gain time for creating a navy, concentrating and disciplining their forces, and making other needful preparations."

About the end of April Kalb left New York in the packet Minerva, arrived on the height of Dover the 1st of June, went first to London to adjust his accounts, and reached Paris on the 12th of June. Learning, on his first visit at Versailles, that of his numerous reports five only had been received, he requested a private audience of Choiseul on the 23d of June. The latter named an early day, but postponed the interview more than once on account of other business, so that on the 18th of July Kalb sent the duke a written statement of the English forces stationed in America on the 1st of June, 1768. In acknowledging the receipt of this paper on the 22d of July, Choiseul expressed the opinion that the figures were too high, as it was impossible for England to be so strong, but encouraged him to make further reports

from time to time, and particularly to give him access to letters and newspapers received from America. Up to the month of October he continued to manifest an increasing interest in American affairs, and to receive every information on the subject with the greatest attention. And, up to the close of the year, hardly a week elapsed without Kalb's sending the minister translations from American journals, or copies of his correspondence. On the 6th of August he submitted an elaborate memorial, containing a historical retrospect of the discontents of the colonies, and the conclusions his observations had led him to form. On the footing of the latter Kalb regards it as indubitable that America will at some day emancipate herself from England, either when the number of its inhabitants shall come to equal those of Great Britain, a goal which the country is approaching with giant strides, as the population is swelled not by births alone but by immigration from every quarter of Europe, or when England shall drive the colonies to unite and declare their independence by increased pressure and unbending severity. He goes on to predict that the Americans will not only throw off all allegiance to the British crown, but in time will threaten and indeed annex the possessions of other European powers on the Northern continent. On the other hand he is of opinion that at the present stage of the contest they will rather submit than call in foreign assistance, and sees nothing in the present difficulties but a family quarrel, for which reason also he has no doubt that the ministers will ultimately adopt a conciliatory policy, and recommends an attitude of observation and expectancy.

His views are those of a calm and sensible observer, who draws his conclusions from the facts before him. That

they were correct in relation to the facts which had then transpired, is proved not only by the simultaneous opinion of Durand, the French Ambassador at London, who, on the 30th of August, based on reliable accounts, declares it injudicious to calculate upon an early revolution in the colonies, while his successor, Count Châtelet, in an official paper dated as late as the 18th of November, 1768, warns Choiseul against any precipitate act of hostility to England, as calculated to reconcile the colonies with the mother country, and to unite them both against France;[20] but it is also made manifest by the repeated declarations of Franklin, who at that time also believed that a foreign intervention would result in silencing the complaints of the colonies, and who, even in the year 1770, maintained an unbroken faith in the adjustment of the pending difficulties.

At the close of the year 1768 Choiseul became daily more indifferent to Kalb's reports. His attention was engrossed, on the one hand, by the war for the final occupation of Corsica, which just then was assuming proportions calculated to concentrate all the efforts of the nation, and on the other hand by a plan he was then eagerly discussing with Count Châtelet for damaging England and fostering the discontent of her colonies by uniting with Spain in the renunciation of the old French and Spanish colonial policy, and freely admitting the products of North America into the colonies of both Bourbon powers. The execution was frustrated by the scruples of the Spanish minister Grimaldi, who feared to enhance still further the importance and the prosperity of a neighbor already formidable, and likely by making it independent of the mother country and assuming a republican form of government, to prove positively

dangerous to the interests of Spain. Choiseul himself was so busy with diplomatic transactions, cabinet consultations, reports of various boards of trade, and other matters pertaining to the immediate realization of his revolutionary projects, that no time was left him for matters comparatively unimportant, such as Kalb's reports. He acted, therefore, like all great men having no further use for those who have been instrumental in furthering their designs: he broke with Kalb on a most frivolous pretext. Early in 1769, when the latter pressed for the private audience so long promised, the duke sent him word that his receptions held at the war department every Sunday were open to all who had anything to say to him. Kalb went to request an hour's interview. Choiseul would not hear him out, but interrupted him by saying, "You returned too soon from America, and your labors are therefore of no use to me. You need not send me any more reports about that country." This unmerited reproach[21] hurt Kalb the more, as Choiseul had repeatedly testified his approbation of Kalb's course, and had, but a few months previously, handed him six thousand francs in reward of his services.

Of course Kalb broke off his correspondence, and withdrew from the minister's notice, not, however, without having made him a proper representation of the injustice of his conduct. On the 4th of June, 1770, the duke promised to include him in the number of the brigadiers to be newly appointed, but the fulfilment of the promise was prevented by the downfall of the hitherto all-powerful minister at Christmas, 1770. But whatever may have been the termination of the intercourse between the gifted statesman and his conscientious agent, it is not to be denied that Kalb's reports

exercised an immediate influence upon the politics of the period. By sustaining Choiseul in the firm conviction that the difficulties with their American possessions would not allow the English Government to obstruct his designs against Corsica, they quickened his movements for the occupation of that island. The event justified this calculation, for the English acquiesced in the advances of the French, and contented themselves with an empty protest even when the occupation of the island was complete. England's power was paralyzed in America.

This whole period was one of preparation for the coming struggle, of secret estrangement and external cordiality between the two courts. They watched each other narrowly, surveyed the ground, caught every breeze likely to injure the opponent, ran over with professions of friendship, and secretly furthered the plans of each other's enemies. In England money and supplies were collected for the brave Corsicans then in arms against the French, while Choiseul, in a sudden burst of anger, threatened to raise collections in France for the seditious inhabitants of New York and Boston.[22] This single fact throws a striking light on the real condition of affairs. England honored the noble but unfortunate Paoli, who had taken refuge on her soil, as a national hero; France had to nurse her wrath eight years before she could revenge herself by the brilliant reception of Franklin at Paris.

England ought to have known, in August, 1768, what weight to attach to Choiseul's expressions of indignation at being suspected of fomenting and cherishing the discontent of the American colonies at a time of peace. In the most glaring contrast to these hypocritical professions, the French

minister welcomed with perfect rapture every symptom of American insubordination, gave audience to his agents, and sent them to Asia or America to secretly intrigue against England, scrupulously preserving, in the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs, every newspaper slip from the provincial journals of Boston or Savannah, every revolutionary placard, nay, every sermon of a discontented New England minister, if only unfavorable to English interests. The number of articles translated by Kalb from the most unimportant local journals alone amounts to more than a hundred; and at the present day, in reading the letters from little towns like Newport, Salem, or Newbern, which are probably extant nowhere except in Paris, one is at a loss whether more to admire the indefatigable assiduity of the agent, or the untiring researches of the duke. His downfall frustrated the execution of his designs against the English; but after a short interval of five years, which proved highly favorable to the development of the American Revolution, they were resumed by the Count de Vergennes with equal energy, and carried to a successful consummation.

CHAPTER V.

KALB BUYS MILON LA CHAPELLE.—RETIREMENT.—IS CALLED UPON TO GO TO POLAND.—THE CONTEST THERE.—KALB MAKES STIPULATIONS.—THEY ARE REJECTED.—KALB REMAINS AT HOME.—HIS UNEASY AMBITION.—HE ENTERS INTO TEMPORARY ACTIVE SERVICE AT METZ.—BROGLIE CALLS UPON ST. GERMAIN TO REAPPOINT KALB.—ST. GERMAIN PROPOSES TO SEND HIM TO AMERICA.—KALB ACCEDES TO THE PROPOSAL.—DELAYS.—KALB MADE A BRIGADIER-GENERAL FOR THE COLONIES.—PROMISES FOR THE FUTURE.—POLITICAL SITUATION.—VERGENNES MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.—HIS ATTITUDE IN REGARD TO ENGLAND AND AMERICA.—ST. GERMAIN AND SARTINES SIDE WITH HIM.—DU COUDRAY AND BEAUMARCHAIS WORK FOR THE AMERICANS.—KALB'S INTERVIEW WITH DEANE.—THEIR CONTRACTS.—LAFAYETTE.—KALB'S INFLUENCE UPON HIM.—KALB INTENDS TO SAIL FROM HAVRE IN DECEMBER, 1776.—DIFFICULTIES.—IMPRUDENCE OF BEAUMARCHAIS AND THE OFFICERS.—LORD STORMOND'S SUSPICIONS.—HE PPOTESTS AGAINST THE DEPARTURE OF THE EXPEDITION.—THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT ISSUES A PROHIBITION AGAINST IT.—DU COUDRAY GOES NEVERTHELESS.—KALB REMAINS FOR THE PRESENT.—HIS CORRESPONDENCE WITH DUBOIS.—RELATIONS BETWEEN FRANCE AND AMERICA.—LAFAYETTE.—FRANKLIN'S ARRIVAL IN PARIS.—LETTER OF THE COUNT DE BROGLIE.—HE WANTS TO BE DICTATOR IN AMERICA.—MISTAKEN SUPPOSITIONS OF THIS LETTER.—POSITION OCCUPIED BY THE FRENCH NOBILITY IN REFERENCE TO THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.—KALB NEVER DELIVERS THE LETTER.—HE RETURNS TO PARIS IN THE FIRST INSTANCE.—POSTPONED IS NOT ABOLISHED.

A FEW months after his return from America Kalb purchased the chateau of Milon la Chapelle, an ancient manor situate about three miles south of Versailles. The former possessor, M. de Besset, and his wife, being childless, and advanced in years, disposed of it on very favorable conditions. They reserved a small annuity, and the possession

for life of the old chateau, while they gave immediate possession of all the lands and feudal rights, at a price of only seventy-two thousand francs. Neither Kalb nor his wife ever moved into the chateau, as both they and their eldest son died before the Bessets, the survivor of whom lived till the year 1798. The second son of our hero, however, Elie de Kalb, entered upon the property after he had been permitted by Napoleon to return to France, and it is still occupied by his daughter, the Viscountess d'Alzac.[23]

The duties and responsibilities growing out of this operation, and the arrangement of his affairs in general, now occupied Kalb so constantly, that he was compelled, for the present at least, to renounce all ambitious schemes. In this manner two years passed in rural retirement, which must have been doubly grateful in view of the hopeless condition of public affairs, and the decay of morals and manners in the ruling circles of society. After the fall of Choiseul the contemptible Dubarry had played the King and the Government into the hands of a new set of men. The commanding influence which had been exercised on the counsels of Europe by France under the auspices of the now banished duke, rapidly fell back to zero.

Among the minions of the omnipotent mistress was the Count of St. Florentine, created Duc de Vrillière, secretary of the king and temporary minister of foreign affairs, who had known Kalb personally ever since the last war, and who, in 1771, suggested to him to go to Poland, there to follow the example of many other French officers, in contending for the confederates against the Russians.

Since the accession of Stanislaus Poniatowski in 1764, Poland had become a football in the hands of the foreign

powers, especially of Russia, all at work to accomplish its disintegration. The struggles leading to this result were protracted by the opposition offered by the confederated patriot nobility, for full eight years. Choiseul of course sided with the latter, and although unable at that time to take their part openly, he not only furnished them secretly with money, arms, and officers, but also stirred up the Turks against the Russians, to interfere with the operations of the latter against the Poles. His secret agent, Dumouriez, at Warsaw, and his envoy, Vergennes, at Constantinople, both diplomatists of the first water, worked in concert to this end. These matters also were greatly changed by Choiseul's fall. The Duc d'Aiguillon, now the foreign minister of Louis XV., by his indifference to the honor and fortunes of the country, by his negligence and thoughtlessness, forfeited all the results of the labors of his predecessor. The decadence of the French power, in connection with England's American perplexities, made the partition of Poland an easy matter for the Eastern powers. The sympathies of the court of Versailles for the unfortunate country were now confined to the sending of a few more officers, without opposing any measure, or even a protest, against the encroachments of the spoilers. It was about a year and a half before the partition took place that Vrillière, and Monteynard, the minister of war, the latter probably at the instigation of the former, called upon Kalb to take part in the contest. Dumouriez was still in Poland as the secret agent of France, but was soon displaced by the incompetent Vioménil. Kalb was not unknown to the Marquis de Monteynard, having been recommended to him for promotion to the rank of Brigadier in the beginning of the year 1771, upon his assuming the portfolio as successor to the

Marquis de Castries. While Vrillière was unreserved in his language, the war minister veiled his meaning in mysterious allusions which could not commit him.

"The king," he wrote to Kalb from Versailles the 4th of March, 1771, "considers you qualified, by your talents, for a special undertaking of great importance to his service. It is the wish of his Majesty that you should at once repair to this place, to receive the directions relating to this mission, if you are prepared to embrace this opportunity of giving further proofs of the zeal heretofore manifested."

"I have," answered Kalb on the 12th of March, 1771,[21] "maturely considered the proposal of the Duc de Vrillière, to serve the Polish confederation, as well as the terms offered, by which my promotion is to be postponed until after my return, and my compensation to be confined to what I may succeed in obtaining from the confederation. I pray you, therefore, Monseigneur, if you desire to make use of me, and to give me an opportunity of extending my travels and improving my knowledge of men and things, to grant me two favors: 1. The rank of a brigadier, to which my past services and my rank entitle me, so much the more as various junior officers, M. de Rossière and others, have received it. This honor would redouble my zeal and activity in the king's service; in my intercourse with the confederation it would be absolutely indispensable, as it would convince them that I enjoy the confidence of my sovereign, and am entitled to be respected accordingly, and that neither necessity nor love of adventure drives me into the ranks of the patriots. 2. That you would be pleased, either in person or by the Duc de Vrillière, to fix my salary, in order that I may depend solely upon the king and not upon the confederation,

who may perhaps treat me well, and perhaps ill, in which latter case I need not, if thus provided for, resort to the painful expedient of quitting their service.

"A point of no less importance is that I am not to be acknowledged by the king in case of an unforeseen reverse. I pass this over in silence, because His Majesty may have reasons for this policy, to which I gladly defer; but it should be an additional inducement to grant me the two requests above mentioned, as at least some little equivalent for the risk incurred of the probable consequences of a refusal to acknowledge me.

"Last year M. de Valcroissant was sent to the Turkish army as a brigadier, a rank certainly less his due than it would be mine, if services and seniority are considered. Besides, he received pay to the amount of thirty thousand livres per annum. One-fifth or one-sixth of that sum would content me when once appointed brigadier, because I do not serve to enrich myself, but to advance and to deserve the favor of my king and his ministers."

Kalb evidently distrusted the sincerity and the good will of the Duc de Vrillière and the Marquis de Monteynard. The latter never entertained his proposals, but simply rejected them. A negotiation on the same subject opened early in August, 1771, with the Duc d'Aiguillon as minister of foreign affairs, was equally futile. The Government had determined to risk nothing for the Poles, no matter how much the policy of the two countries was identified by a common interest and by tradition. They were evidently preparing to retreat from the position occupied by Choiseul. Thus the idea was entirely abandoned.

Kalb remained at home for the present, and devoted the

ensuing years exclusively to his family and his private affairs. His condition in life was in every way satisfactory and enviable. He lived in peace and comfort, sometimes in Paris and sometimes at his country-house of Brouossy near Milon; his children throve; and as he was even then in possession of a fortune of more than four hundred thousand francs, so as to be independent in every respect, he had, as a private man, little or nothing to wish for. Nevertheless, the desire for activity and distinction constantly interfered with the enjoyment of his good fortune; his restless spirit could not adapt itself to the contracted sphere of his rural retirement, and at every glimpse of promotion he beset his friends with solicitations for their intercession, and wrote plans, opinions, and proposals about himself as well as about war and peace.

During the reign of Louis XV., however, all his efforts to be restored to active service were in vain. It was not until the accession of Louis XVI. that a change of events occurred favorable to his aspirations. Among the dignitaries out of favor with the old court, now recalled to Versailles and invested with influential stations, were the brothers Broglie, Kalb's old friends and patrons, who had warmly advocated his claims for preferment on all occasions. When the Comte de Broglie went to Metz in 1775 as military commander-in-chief, Kalb worked under him for four months, under a regulation then adopted by the minister of war, du Muy, requiring retired staff officers to do duty in garrison from time to time. The manner in which his duties were performed on this occasion was so satisfactory to the count, that the latter personally vouched for his efficiency to the Count of St. Germain, on the appointment of the latter to the ministry of war in October, 1775, and urgently solicited

his immediate reappointment. This junior Broglie, the Count Charles François (1719 to 1781), was no less faithful as a friend and zealous as a supporter, than bitter and implacable as an enemy, never forgiving and constantly thwarting those who refused to subject themselves implicitly to his dictation, while indulging, aiding, and encouraging all those who devoted themselves unreservedly to his interests. In public life he gained less distinction as a general and politician, than as a ready intriguer. He was of the party which had broken down the Duc de Choiseul, behind whose back he had acted for years as head of the secret cabinet of Louis XV., and never deceived himself in the selection of the instruments of his ambition, but frequently erred, as we shall have occasion to see hereafter, in his political plans and projects, which were almost never regulated by a correct knowledge of men and things.[24]

St. Germain answered the Comte de Broglie's note on the 10th of December, 1775, regretting that no opening then offered for Kalb in the army, but wrote at the foot of the letter with his own hand, "When you shall have returned here, M. le Comte, we shall see what disposition may be made of M. de Kalb." This hint referred to America, which was just then more than ever attracting the attention of the French Government. Broglie came to Paris and Versailles early in the ensuing year, and eagerly seconded St. Germain's proposal to send our hero to the assistance of the rebellious colonies. Kalb himself was soon after admitted to an audience of the minister of war. The particulars of their interview have not been recorded; but the result was that Kalb's position in the French army remained unaltered, a two years' furlough only being granted him.

At the same time St. Germain promised to procure for him the rewards and honors corresponding to the risk incurred and the advantages to be attained, and, at the first opportunity, to bestow upon him the dignity of a "maréchal de camp"; declining, however, to accede to his request to appoint him a brigadier immediately, on account of the attention which would have been attracted by such a departure from ordinary rules, in the absence of a vacancy of that grade in the army. Nevertheless, on the 6th of November, 1776, M. de Sartines handed Kalb a commission as brigadier-general for the islands. In France he now had little or nothing to hope for, while a wide field was opened to him on the other side of the ocean. Honor and renown invited him to try his fortunes there. He made up his mind to go; resolving, however, before preparing for his departure, to await the expected arrival in Paris of the American agent, Silas Deane, an event which was delayed until the beginning of July, 1776.

Months again elapsed before Kalb entered into communication with him. The cause of this delay does not appear. Diplomatic and personal scruples appear to have obstructed his path for some time, and the general politics of the day were not without their influence on Kalb's movements. It is known that the year 1776 was occupied with the covert diplomacy of the French ministry for and with the American insurgents, in secretly supporting and openly repudiating them, in steps looking to a more open policy, and in sudden relapses and tergiversations.

The Government of Louis XVI. had from the first given its special attention to the disturbances in the American colonies, the Comte de Vergennes, minister of foreign affairs,

in particular, having omitted no opportunity, since the opening of hostilities by the engagement at Lexington and the taking of Ticonderoga, of making England's embarrassments of advantage to France and Spain. In the cabinet the ministers of war and marine, St. German and Sartines, were entirely on his side, while Maurepas, Malherbes, and Turgot were more inclined for peace, the latter especially opposing warlike measures on account of the shattered state of the finances. The young king vacillated between both parties, and was open to every impression, without being capable of forming a judgment of his own upon any topic. The only question was who was the longest and the last to influence him. Vergennes was a shrewd and clear-headed statesman, without the impetuosity of genius, but unerring in his aims, which he pursued often with insignificant means, but generally with success. Belonging to the lower order of nobility, he had elevated himself by his own exertions, and, serving under Choiseul, had gone through a superior diplomatic training as envoy at Stockholm and Constantinople. Having, by his representatives and agents, among whom the notorious Bonvouloir was one of the most adroit and reliable, obtained an accurate knowledge of the objects and intentions of the colonies, he never urged the irresolute king, but edified him and all the world with homilies on the sanctity of existing contracts and the necessity of peace, while in secret, without committing the Government, he did his utmost to further the development of affairs across the Atlantic. It was not until March, 1776, when just in receipt of an elaborate report from Bonvouloir, that, in a solemn council of ministers he reminded the passive king of the absolute necessity of securing France against any peril growing out of the

Anglo-American disturbances, suggesting that, after subduing the American rebellion, England would bring her whole force to bear upon her natural foes and rivals, Spain and France, as her statesmen for years had never inquired what harm they were actually suffering at the hands of the latter power, but always what harm they might possibly suffer hereafter. England should therefore be encouraged to adopt the most stringent measures against her colonies, and to be nursed in the belief that the Bourbon powers were not only peaceful in their inclinations, but fearful of the costs of a war; on the other hand, however, the colonies must not be suffered to despair, but must be further estranged from the mother country, and confirmed in their aspirations after independence by undefined promises and even some secret assistance, such as gratuitous shipments of munitions of war.[28]

This discourse came, in the sequel, particularly after the great and good Turgot had been compelled to give way before the bitter animosity of the higher nobility, to constitute the programme which, often abandoned and resumed, was finally carried out, until at length an open rupture became inevitable. Vergennes closely followed the course pursued by England at the time of the French occupation of Corsica. He also secured the coöperation of Spain, whose interests had been much impaired by the common enemy in Morocco, Algiers, and the Philippine Islands. On the 27th of June, 1776, King Charles, without the knowledge of any of his cabinet except the prime minister Grimaldi, and without communicating with his ambassador at Paris, sent a million of francs as his moiety contributed to the joint support of the Americans. While Vergennes found in Beaumarchais, who had approved himself as a skilled diplo-

matist under the preceding Government in various transactions with the notorious Chevalier d'Eon, the pamphleteer Morande, and others, an excellent go-between to cover his relations with the American agent, St. Germain employed a prominent artillery officer, in the person of Adjutant-General Colonel du Coudray, who, in 1774, had made the round of the garrisons of the kingdom, for the purpose of ascertaining the stock of guns and small arms on hand, to select from the arsenals the arms and munitions of war intended for the Americans, and transport them to the various seaports. With this object du Coudray, in September, 1776, visited Metz, Maubeuge, St. Etienne, Besançon, Charleville, Strasburg, and Dijon, and made choice of two hundred four-pound field-pieces, with a hundred thousand balls, besides thirty thousand stand of small arms, and ammunition, and four thousand tents. Sartines at the same time acted in concert with the Comte de Vergennes, endeavoring to mask the proceedings from the scrutiny of the British by pretending to order the arms taken from the arsenals by du Coudray, to St. Domingo and other colonies, and attaching the officers ordered to America by the minister of war, with a superior rank, to an expedition also ostensibly designed for the colonies.

Under the mantle of the same device Kalb was likewise to proceed to America, to place his knowledge and experience at the disposal of the rebellious colonies, in the interest of France. His first interview with Deane took place on the 5th of November, the date intervening between that of his furlough and that of his promotion, a circumstance pointed out by the American agent himself in his letters to the Congressional Committee on Secret Correspondence.

"The rage, as I may say, for entering into the American service," writes Silas Deane from Paris, November 6, 1776," "increases, and the consequence is that I am pressed with offers and proposals, many of them from persons of the first rank and eminence, in the sea as well as land service. Count Broglie, who commanded the army of France during the last war, did me the honor to call on me twice yesterday with an officer who served as his quartermaster-general in the last war, and has now a regiment in this service, but being a German,—the Baron de Kalb,—and having travelled through America a few years since, he is desirous of engaging in the service of the United States of North America. I can by no means let slip an opportunity of engaging a person of so much experience, and who is by every one recommended as one of the bravest and most skilful officers in the kingdom; yet I am distressed on every such occasion for want of your particular instructions. This gentleman has an independent fortune, and a certain prospect of advancement here; but being a zealous friend to liberty, civil and religious, he is actuated by the most independent and generous principles in the offer he makes of his serviese to the States of America."

Deane accordingly engaged the services of Kalb as major-general, his seniority to date from the 7th of November, 1776, and reported, on the 28th of the same month, that he regarded them as a great acquisition to the cause of American liberty. The formal contract was signed by both parties on the 1st of December. Kalb signed for himself and fifteen companions, among whom were the Vicomte de Mauroy, major-general, Dubuysson, afterward his aide and major, von Holtzendorff, lieutenant-colonel, and various officers of every grade down to that of lieutenant.

The English ambassador was not ill served by his spies, who informed him, as early as the 4th of December, that Kalb was on the point of going to America, at the wish and instigation of the French Government.

"I am very credibly informed," writes Lord Stormond on that day confidentially to Lord Viscount Weymouth, confounding correct with incorrect statements, "a Mons. Colbé, a Swiss officer formerly in this service, who married a daughter of the famous van Robais, was sent for to Fontainebleau, and stayed there some days. It was proposed to him that if he would go to St. Domingo and from thence to North America, he should have the rank of Brigadier, and nine or ten thousand livres a year during the time of his being employed. These conditions he accepted after some hesitation, and set out from hence on Monday last. He is accompanied by a Mons. Holtzendorff, a Prussian by birth, who was likewise engaged by this court, and has had the rank of lieutenant-colonel given him, with six thousand livres a year. He is not thought to be an officer of any distinction, but M. Colbé is, I am told, a man of ability. He was sent to North America during the ministry of M. de Choiseul, who gave him the 'ordre de mérite.'"

In point of fact the negotiations had not yet reached this point. Kalb was still in Paris, and concluded a new agreement with Deane on the 7th of December, which bears the additional signature of Lafayette. This young man had then just completed his nineteenth year. He was filled with youthful enthusiasm for America, and a burning desire to flesh his sword in a transatlantic crusade. His kinsman and paternal friend, the Comte de Broglie, who had knowledge of his plans, and who, at the same time, was Kalb's ardent

protector, referred his cousin to the latter, and recommended him to his care and counsel. It must have been between the 1st and 7th of December that Kalb introduced his protégé to Deane, for he is not named at all in the contract bearing the former date, while he signs the latter as one of the parties.

Kalb had been clear from the first that the colonies could not reckon upon a steady and vigorous support at the hands of France, unless they should succeed in enlisting the sympathies of a considerable number of individuals eminent by birth and station. He therefore made it his special object to confirm young Lafayette in his noble and disinterested zeal, as he did not fail to perceive that he would draw after him many others of the sprigs of the high nobility, and thus, possibly, make interest enough ultimately to bring about an alliance between the two countries. As a man of riper years and established reputation, whose judgment and experience had weight with younger men, he brought the indefinite and sometimes wandering ambition of the French nobles to bear upon a practical object, and gave a political direction to the enthusiasm for philosophy and the rights of man then raging among fashionable circles. He managed to identify with it the struggle against England, and the necessity of wiping from the French escutcheon the stains inflicted by the Seven Years' War; and by this exercise of his personal influence, he made himself not only the leader and adviser of the young nobility, but also contributed no less to the final success of the American arms, than he was afterward instrumental in promoting it as a commander in the field.

It was about the end of November or beginning of December, 1776. Deane intended to send the cannon above

"Lafayette has probably told you that the Duc d'Ayen (his father-in-law) had written, or intended to write, to M. de Maurepas. The answer of the minister was to the effect that he knew nothing of the entry of French officers into the service of the English colonies, that such a step would be an act of hostility, which his Majesty was far from sanctioning; that the king was much gratified with the evidences of the zeal of the Vicomte de Noailles (Lafayette's brother-in-law), but that he must not think of going to America. On the strength of this letter, which is exactly what it should have been, when a matter calculated for oral communication only is committed to writing, the Vicomte de Noailles renounces his plan. The answer of M. de Maurepas will certainly get before the public, and no doubt come to the knowledge of Lord Stormond, so that, if this ambassador and his court put faith in it (a question which I leave to your decision), your journey to St. Domingo will not be molested. Our young marquis (Lafayette) does not despair; he still has the greatest desire to go, and is on the point of writing to Ruffec (the Comte de Broglie's country-seat) for advice and information. He is satisfied with sending his letter by mail, which will give him leisure for reflection, and the count sufficient time for consideration. I do not yet know what will be Lafayette's final resolution. M. de Noailles, having renounced his own designs, will probably endeavor to dissuade the marquis from adhering to his, in which attempt he will of course be seconded by his family. I shall have the honor, if there is sufficient time, of informing you of any turn the affair may take hereafter, availing myself, for that purpose, of the address of M. Feray.

"Yesterday," continues Dubois, from Paris, the 14th of De-

cember, 1776, "I received your favor of the 10th instant. I am waiting for news from Ruffec, and it gives me great pleasure to hope there may be time to transmit them to you.

"It must be confessed that secrecy is a virtue, and that you have every reason to congratulate yourself on having escaped the consequences of the precautions taken by your braggart friends to prevent your journey from becoming publicly known.

"The Duc d'Ayen had written to M. de Maurepas for the Vicomte de Noailles. The minister answered that he knew nothing about the matter, and that he could not allow the vicomte to go. The Marquis de Lafayette is not discouraged. He is waiting for the answer to a letter which he has handed to me (for the count), and will take the advice which will be given him. He is a most splendid young man, and sincerely devoted to you.

"The latest news which occupies all the world here, is the arrival of Mr. Franklin at Nantes, who, as I may remark in passing, has even taken a ship on his journey hither. He will, as M. de Fayolles writes me, set out for Paris to-day or tomorrow.

"Mr. Deane will wait till Monday before handing M. de Mauroy the despatches intended to have been delivered last Thursday. He received a letter from Mr. Franklin, by which this matter was protracted. Two persons have to-day informed me, that a prohibition has been published against discussing the war in the cafés. The precaution is a timely one, as the war is at present the subject of every conversation.

"I hope to send you some news from Ruffec before your departure, and would request you to forward the enclosed little note to M. de Sonneville."

"I have the honor," says Dubois in his final epistle of December 17, "to enclose a letter just received for you from the Comte de Broglie, while yours of the 14th instant only came to hand yesterday.

"M. du Coudray and his companions have my best wishes for their success, and I hope that, contrary to general expectation, he may elude the pursuit of our neighbors.

"I should be glad if you would come here once more, to see Mr. Franklin. It would greatly further the negotiation you have undertaken, as it is possible that otherwise some other party may approach this member of Congress with the same views as those we advocate. If you cannot get away I would like you to write to Mr. Deane, asking him whether or not the arrival of Mr. Franklin will effect any alteration in the form or spirit of his despatches, or in the plan you have submitted to him for the choice of a commander-in-chief.

"At all events you might warn him against giving too ready an ear to suggestions of parties probably ill calculated for so important a position, as I am quite sure you agree with me in opinion that there is not a man in Europe so well fitted for the office as ours (Broglie). I do not entertain this view because of any predilection for the candidate. You would very much oblige me by an intimation respecting your ideas and intentions on this head.

"It is given out here that the insurgents have made peace. I do not believe it, because M. du Coudray has been allowed to depart. It is true that the news was only published on Sunday the 15th. Mr. Deane expects Mr. Franklin to-day. He has now postponed to next Thursday the delivery of his despatches to M. de Mauroy. The latter also, as you see, is not ready to start. It is said here that a courier has been

sent to the barber of Seville (Beaumarchais), whose discretion surprises me. I hope you will adopt something of my mode of proceeding, if the publicity he has given to his Havre expedition should be attended with no ill consequence. M. de Mauroy desires his kindest regards. As the count is very fond of him, I wish you may become very intimate in foreign parts."

The obscure passages in the preceding lines are explained by the following letter of the Comte de Broglie himself. Characteristic of the selfish point of view in which the French magnates regarded the American contest, and interesting from the clearness with which it displays the plans and hopes they founded upon it, it discloses the bloated self-conceit of the ruling class, the narrowness of their social prejudices, and their utter inability to understand the scope and reach of the American revolution.

In the eyes of these well-seasoned politicians and statesmen, the enthusiasm entertained by the younger nobility for a war waged in support of popular rights, was at best a drapery for their own selfish purposes. For such men nothing was good, just, or honorable, except what benefited them personally, and damaged the English. Thus America was a soil upon which to display their talents to the gaze of an admiring world; the people there fighting for their liberties came to be considered, at the utmost, as materials with which the great were to work out the splendor of their renown. A sound appreciation of the merits of the issue was as distant from their minds as the scene of the drama was remote from their corporal vision. What interest they did take in this phase of the question was such as would have been manifested by the condescending nod of approba-

tion with which a lord contemplates the provident upon whom he bestows his charity, not so much for the happiness of the poor man as to illustrate his own munificence. The peasant republic appeared, to the leading nobles of that day, as clear of any connection with the past or future of the civilized world, as the Circassians or the Bedouins appear to the present generation; and Washington was little more to them than the brave Schamyl or Abdelkader to the modern newspaper reader. The candor with which this way of thinking and these designs are revealed in de Broglie's letter, is precisely what makes it so interesting and instructive. How little Silas Deane, incompetent as he was, can have been convinced of the justice of his cause and the success of his countrymen, how perfectly ignorant he must have been of the nature and bearing of the contest, is shown by his favoring and approving the plan of the French, instead of repelling it with utter scorn as incompatible with the honor of his country. Can the French, under these circumstances, be blamed for considering the Americans simply as their passive instruments?

"I have seen with pleasure," writes de Broglie at his country-seat, Ruffec, the 11th of December, "from the relations of M. Dubois Martin, as well as from your last letter of the 5th instant, the good progress of your affairs, and hope that all your wishes will continue to be realized. You may rest assured that, on my part, I shall not neglect your interests, which, as you will not fail to remember, I have at all times advocated, the more cheerfully that I know that the favor of the king could not be better bestowed.

"I do not doubt that the plan communicated to you by M. Dubois meets you entire approbation. It is clearly in-

dispensable to the permanence of the work. A military and political leader is wanted, a man fitted to carry the weight of authority in the colony, to unite its parties, to assign to each his place, to attract a large number of persons of all classes, and carry them along with him, not courtiers, but brave, efficient, and well-educated officers, who confide in their superior, and repose implicit faith in him. There need not be many grades of a higher order; but there is need of some, because the corps and the country are separate from each other. Not but that there is room enough for a number of persons, from among whom a selection may be made. The main point of the mission with which you have been intrusted will, therefore, consist in explaining the advantage, or, rather, the absolute necessity of the choice of a man, who would have to be invested with the power of bringing his assistants with him, and of assigning to each the position for which he should judge him to be fitted. The rank of the candidate would have to be of the first eminence, such, for instance, as that of the Prince of Nassau; his functions, however, would have to be confined to the army, excluding the civil service, with, perhaps, the single exception of the political negotiations with foreign powers. In proposing such a man, you must, of course, not appear to know whether he entertains any wish for such a position; but, at the same time, you must intimate that nothing but the most favorable stipulations would induce him to make the sacrifices expected of him. You would have to observe that three years would be the longest period for which he could possibly bind himself, that he would claim a fixed salary, to continue after the expiration of that period of service, and that on no account would he consent to expatriate himself

for ever. What should make you particularly explicit or this point is, that the assurance of the man's return to France at the end of three years will remove every apprehension in regard to the powers to be conferred, and will remove even the semblance of an ambitious design to become the sovereign of the new republic.

"You will, therefore, content yourself with stipulating for a military authority for the person in question, who would unite the position of a general and president of the council of war with the title of generalissimo, field marshall, etc.

"Of course large pecuniary considerations would have to be claimed for the preparations for the journey, and for the journey itself, and a liberal salary for the return home, much in the same manner as has been done in the case of Prince Ferdinand. You can give the assurance that such a measure will bring order and economy into the public expenses, that it will reimburse its cost a hundred-fold in a single campaign, and that the choice of officers who follow their leader at his word, and from attachment to his person, is worth more than the reënforcement of the army with ten or twenty thousand men. You well know the persons who adhere to this leader and the unlimited number of subalterns; you know that they are not courtiers, but excellent and well-tried soldiers; you know better than others, the great difference between the one candidate and the other, and will lay particular stress upon this point. You will be equally mindful to dwell upon the effect necessarily produced by such an appointment on its mere anouncement in Europe. Even in a good European army everything depends upon the selection of a good commander-in-chief; how much more in a cause where everything

has yet to be created and adjusted! It is not easy to find a man qualified for such a task, and at the same time willing to undertake it. If matters down there—"là bas"—should turn out well, you should induce Congress immediately to send little Dubois back to Mr. Deane with full powers and directions. These powers should be limited in no respect, except in so far as to remove all danger of a too extensive exercise of the civil authority, or of ambitious schemes for dominion over the republic. The desire is to be useful to the republic in a political and military way, but with all the appropriate honors, dignities, and powers over subordinate functionaries; in short, with a well-ordered power.

"If you send back little Dubois, advise me at the same time of the true condition of affairs and of the state of public feeling, adding your suggestions of what is best to be done. Also inform me of the nature of the power conferred upon the agents of the insurgents. Farewell! I wish you and your caravan a pleasant journey. I shall execute your commissions, and shall see M. de Sartiges when I get to Paris.

"Acquaint me with the receipt of this letter, and with the moment of your departure, and write to me under the direction of the Abbé St. Evrar l, at the bureau of M. St. Julien, treasurer general of the clergy. I leave this unsigned. You know who I am."

In anticipation of our narrative, we may here remark that, very soon after arriving in America, Kalb was convinced of the utter impracticability of de Broglie's projects, and buried them among his papers. When this last letter came to his hands, the expedition to America was scattered to the winds. Some of the officers quietly embarked for the United States at L'Orient and Nantes, others did not go at all, while Kalb

and his companions returned to Paris for the present, in the closing days of the year 1776, not to renounce his plans, but to prosecute them with more mature preparation and better success.

CHAPTER VI.

Kalb and Lafayette Revive their Project.—The Latter Resolves to Purchase a Ship at Bordeaux.—Reasons for the Choice of Bordeaux.—Dubois Martin the Go-between.—The Ship La Victoire Selected.—Lafayette Returns from England to Paris.—Conceals Himself in Kalb's House.—Both Set Out for Bordeaux on the 16th of March, 1777.—Lafayette's Family, not the Government, Opposed to Him.—Attitude of the French Cabinet as Respects America.—Kalb to His Wife on the Difficulties Caused by Lafayette.—The Victoire Leaves France Unhindered.—She Sails to Los Pasages in Spain.—Lafayette Yields to the Orders of the Court.—He Goes Back to Bordeaux.—Kalb Nettled at the Blunders.—Lafayette Returns.—The Victoire Sails for America on the 20th of April.—The Company.—Error of the Historian Sparks in Regard to Lafayette's Position as Respects Kalb.—Arrival in South Carolina.—Visit to Major Hueger.—Ride to Charleston.—Thence to Philadelphia.—Cool Reception on the Part of Congress.—The Du Coudray Difficulty.—Jealousy of the Native Officers.—New Threats.—Du Coudray Retires.—Lafayette First Appointed.—Reasons for this Preference.—Kalb's Satisfaction at Lafayette's Progress.—Kalb's Letter of August 1, 1777, to the President of Congress.—His Well-founded Complaints.—Embarrassment of Congress.—Kalb resolves to Return to France with His Company.—Subsequently Congress Resolves to Appoint Him a Major-General.—Kalb Hesitates, but Finally Concludes to Stay.—His Terms Accepted in Part.—His Seniority.—He Sets Out on the 21st of October to Join the Army.

Of all Kalb's friends and companions none had more ardently sustained the expedition to America than Lafayette. He too, found his cherished hopes and aspirations blasted by the prohibitory order of the French Government, yet he clung to his design, and staked everything upon its

execution. The first call made by him in company with Kalb, who had returned in the mean time, was to the Comte de Broglie at Ruffec, and his private secretary, Dubois Martin. Both agreed that the voyage to America must be made in spite of all obstacles, urged that it be immediately undertaken, and discussed with Kalb and Lafayette the measures required to promote the common enterprise. The result of their transactions, which occupied but a few days, was, that Lafayette resolved to purchase and freight a ship, and to embark upon it at once for America, with Kalb and his other friends.

In preparing for this step, the utmost secrecy was the more essential, as the English ambassador had his spies everywhere in Paris and the northern seaports, and as a word from him must infallibly lead to an interdict of the expedition, if not to the arrest of those concerned. A go-between was needed to effect the purchase and equipment of the vessel, without attracting public attention. For this purpose the choice of the party fell upon a brother of the Dubois before mentioned, Lieutenant François Auguste Dubois Martin, designated by de Broglie as "Little Dubois," who was attached to a French infantry regiment at Port-au-Prince, whence he had come to the mother country in 1776, to purchase arms and uniforms for his regiment. After executing that commission at Bordeaux, he had gone to Paris at the close of the same year, in order to bid farewell to his brother before returning to St. Domingo; he arrived just as the first American expedition was being formed. At the recommendation of his brother he had been admitted to the train with the rank of Major, and was on the point of embarking with Kalb at Havre, when the ministerial prohibition force him to return to Paris. He re-

sumed his intention to return to St. Domingo; but on the eve of his intended departure he was informed by his brother that the resolution to purchase a vessel had been formed that same evening, and was requested to go to Bordeaux and make the necessary arrangements. Bordeaux, on account of its remote position, did not attract the attention of the Government or of Lord Stormond, and therefore appeared the most suitable harbor. As Dubois had the necessary acquaintances there, and had already been engaged there in a similar business on account of his regiment, he was perhaps the best qualified of all men to accomplish so difficult an undertaking without exciting any suspicion. He therefore immediately set out for Bordeaux, and soon concluded a bargain with the firm of Reculès de Basmarins Rainbaux et Cie. The vessel, la Victoire, Captain Le Boursier, was bought by him, with its cargo and accoutrements, for 112,000 francs, one-fourth of which Lafayette was to pay in cash, and the balance in the course of fifteen months from the day of delivery, which was in the middle of March, 1777.

Lafayette, who had employed the interval between the purchase of the ship and its readiness for sea, in a trip to England, returned to Paris on the 12th of March, and lay concealed for three days at Kalb's house in Chaillot, then a suburb, now a quarter of Paris situated between the Seine and the west end of the Elysian Fields, where the final arrangements were perfected with the American envoy and other friends of the enterprise. On the evening of the 16th of March, Kalb and Lafayette took post to Bordeaux, and arrived there after a three days' journey, on the 19th.

In consequence of the memoirs written by Lafayette in later years, and of the account given by Jared Sparks in the

appendix to the fifth volume of Washington's Writings of the obstacles interposed to the journey of Kalb and Lafayette, the belief has become pretty general that the French Government had interfered, for political reasons, to prevent the journey from being attempted, and that a mountain of difficulties had to be surmounted before the Victoire could weigh her anchors. A due regard for the truth of history requires us to cut down such romantic exaggerations to their legitimate proportions. The ministers, instead of opposing, connived at the journey of Kalb and Lafayette, so far as their position allowed them to do so. Lafayette says as much himself, when, in the year 1800, he writes to Madame Geymueller, the daughter of his friend,[35] "His [Kalb's] departure was favored by the Comte de Broglie, and secretly sanctioned by the French Government." What is true of Kalb must apply to Lafayette, for they travelled together.

Even after interdicting the projected Havre expedition, the ministry had raised no objections to the preparations making by the young nobility for their journey across the Atlantic, and participation in the war, contenting themselves, when interrogated, with expressions of official disapproval, intended for the ear of the English ambassador, but not followed up with any active measures. Of course they could not give their official benison to those lords who undertook to create a sensation by asking for express permission to go to America. "This folly" (of going to America), thus Vergennes defines his course toward Lafayette in the beginning of April, 1777,[36] "has turned the heads of our young men to a degree that you would scarcely credit. Numerous applications are made to me on this score. Those who are absolutely masters of their own actions I answer by telling them they

can do as they please. Those who ask my advice I dissuade from going; those who ask my orders, are commanded to remain." That the intentions of Kalb and Lafayette were likewise a public secret, is proved by the manifold offers of service still to be found among the papers of the former, coming from officers of every grade in every part of the country.

Politically speaking, neither of the travellers was embarrassed; but family matters long kept Lafayette in suspense, and even induced him to make a supererogatory trip back to France, after he had safely reached the Spanish harbor of Los Pasages. The Duc d'Ayen was averse to the enterprise of his son-in-law, and, failing to prevail upon him to renounce it, procured a secret order of the king, commanding him to accompany his family on a journey to Italy. Even the ladies of Paris made light of the attempt to obstruct the noble and high-minded undertaking of the marquis. "If the Duc d'Ayen," said one of them, "will thwart such a son-in-law in such a project, he cannot expect to marry his other daughters." How little politics had to do with the postponement of the journey further appears from the letters written by Kalb to his wife during his enforced stay at Bordeaux and Los Pasages, which, as he had a surplus of leisure time, detail the most trivial occurrences of each day, and are the surest guide in arriving at an understanding of the true state of affairs. "There is still a possibility," he writes, on the 20th of March, 1777, a few days after his arrival in Bordeaux, "that our departure may be prevented. I find so many matters still to be arranged, that the minister will receive notice of the journey of the marquis in time for his prohibitory order to arrive before we go to sea. Notwithstanding the ardor with which we are at work, nothing is more uncertain than

this voyage. At this moment a courier has been despatched to ascertain the effect produced by the news of our proceedings, and to prevent an interdict from issuing." "We are still ignorant," he continues on the 23d of March, "whether our departure will not be prevented, as our vessel, so long detained already, cannot go out into the stream before tomorrow. When the wind will turn God only knows."

It was on the night of the 25th of March that Kalb and Lafayette went on board the Victoire, and on the 26th they reached the mouth of the Garonne. From this place the latter writes at noon of the 26th, on the very eve of standing out to sea, "In two hours we shall be in the open sea. We are weighing anchor in the most glorious weather. I shall certainly write you again before my arrival in America, because we have yet to enter a European port, and shall probably wait at St. Sebastian for the return of a courier sent to Paris." Accordingly, the Victoire first took a southerly course to Los Pasages, a little port in the bay of St. Sebastian, in Spain, and arrived there on the 28th of March. "It will not be necessary," Kalb writes again on the 1st of April, 1777, "to wait here for the return of the courier sent to Paris, because another has been sent to us from Bordeaux, who came here yesterday. He brought the orders of the *court* commanding the marquis to repair to Toulon, there to expect the arrival of the Duc d'Ayen, and of the Countess de Tessé, his sister, and to travel with them to Italy. This is the end of his expedition to America, to join the army of the insurgents. He is at this moment leaving for Bordeaux, whence, if possible, he will proceed to Paris, being loath to go to Italy. I am now obliged to wait for the courier whom Lafayette is to send me, either from Bordeaux, if, on obtain-

ing, from the commandant of that place, more satisfactory information of the king's commands, he finds it necessary to abandon the journey, or from Paris, if he is permitted to go there, and then fails in securing the consent of the Duc d'Ayen to his proceeding. Time will hang heavy on my hands here in the mean time. I do not believe he will be able to rejoin me, and have advised him to compromise with the owner of the ship at a sacrifice of twenty or twenty-five thousand francs."

Thus Lafayette quitted the Spanish territory, where nobody molested him, and where his own Government could not have followed him if they had wished, and returned to France of his own accord, to enter once more upon the arrangement of his family affairs. He certainly might have gone forward at once. Kalb does not speak very favorably of the course he was pursuing. "I had flattered myself," he writes once more on the 6th of April, from Los Pasages, "with the hope of receiving news from the marquis from Bordeaux last evening. If they do not arrive to-day or tomorrow our stay here will be a very long one, as in that case he will not write until he gets to Paris, for certainly neither M. de Maurepas nor the Duc d'Ayen will permit him to rejoin us. If the marquis has not already got a bargain with the ship's owner, his blunders will cost him dear. I call them blunders, for his course was silly from the moment he could not make up his mind quietly to execute his project, undisturbed by threats. It was the letter of the Vicomte de Coigny, received by the courier sent to him on his return to Bordeaux, which produced this sudden change of purpose. If that letter had not found him already in the boat which was to carry us on board our vessel, I believe

Lafayette would have returned at once, and, in my opinion, he would have acted properly. When he asked my advice about what he should do, I thought it my duty to dissuade him from disregarding the wishes of his father-in-law and the commands of the king. On the contrary, I advised him to give way to his family, and to avoid a rupture with them. Had he not constantly flattered himself that he had the approval of the Duc d'Ayen, I would always have warned him not to go so far as he went. He had always assured me that his family sanctioned his plans, that his father-in-law himself intended at some time to go to America with the Vicomte de Noailles, and that even Madame Lafayette had been made acquainted with his intentions by her parents, and would approve of them. I have always thought him to blame for keeping the matter secret from his wife until the moment of his departure. Had he told me in Paris all that he has admitted since, I would have remonstrated most earnestly against the whole scheme. As it is, the affair will cost him some money. But if it be said that he has done a foolish thing, it may be answered that he acted from the most honorable motives, and that he can hold up his head before all high-minded men."

"The reasons which drove us to enter this port," says Kalb in his letter of April 6th, "still detain us here, for we must have the permission of the marquis, or of the owner of the vessel, for proceeding on our voyage. By a letter of Messrs. Rainbaux & Cie I learn that he reached Bordeaux on the 3d, and immediately sent a courier to Paris, whose return he is awaiting. This shows that he is reluctant to abandon his project and his vessel, and still hopes to obtain the consent of his family and of M. de Maurepas. I hardly

think he will succeed. It will not be before the 11th that I shall know what to expect, even if Lafayette should receive an immediate answer from Paris. This long delay is intolerable. I shall be too late for the opening of the campaign, and am so much the more mortified as Mr. Deane offered me a passage in one of his ships. Should the matter be still longer protracted, I shall either return to Paris, or betake myself to the Isle of Ré or Nantes, to wait for news from Deane."

"At this moment," continues Kalb on the 12th of April, "the post brings me a letter from the marquis dated the 5th, at Bordeaux. He says that he was refused permission to proceed, and that he fears being compelled to go to Toulon. He is now waiting for the return of his courier sent to Paris, and will at once inform me of the answer he receives." "The marquis writes from Bordeaux, under date of the 12th inst.," Kalb goes on to say on the 15th, "that he was on the point of leaving for Marseilles, where the royal order requires him to report himself to-day. He says that the court devotes great attention to this affair of his, but he still hopes to gain over the Duc d'Ayen, so as to be at liberty to rejoin me. He therefore requests me not to sail before receiving another letter from him from Toulon or some other point. If I am to wait until he gets to Marseilles, I shall have to remain here until the 26th. Lafayette's letter shows that the ship is still held in his name. He requests me to have an eye to his interests, and to see that his investment is realized as soon as possible."

"At this moment," Kalb finally writes on the 17th of April, "the marquis has arrived, and is prepared to set out with us in a day or two. He came to this conclusion by

receiving assurances from every one in Paris, that none other than the Duc d'Ayen had procured the royal order, that all the world is in favor of Lafayette's enterprise and sorely dissatisfied with his father-in-law for having obstructed his course, and that, finally, the ministers, on being asked their real sentiments in the matter, had answered that they would have said nothing at all but for the complaints of the Duc d'Ayen. We have therefore resolved to steer for our destined port, if no unforeseen obstacle intervenes. This is the last letter I shall write you, if not from Europe, at least from this harbor."

The Victoire actually sailed from Los Pasages on Sunday the 20th of April, in charge of Captain Le Boursier. Kalb and Lafayette were accompanied by the Vicomte de Mauroy, who had also received the commission of a major-general from Deane, of Colonels Delesser and Valfort, Lieutenant-colonels de Fayolles and Franval, Majors Dubuysson and de Gimat, the adjutants of Kalb and Lafayette, and Dubois Martin, of Captains de Vrigny, de Bedaulx, and de la Colombe, and of the American Brice who had joined the cortége at Deane's recommendation, and who is praised by Kalb as an excellent and amiable young man. Of the French officers three had taken their discharge, while nine were still in active service.[37] If Sparks, in the appendix to his Writings of Washington, says that Kalb and eleven other officers constituted Lafayette's *suite*, the statement, so far as Kalb is concerned, is not only incorrect, but grows out of an entire misconception of European habits and customs in reference to matters of rank and title.[38] An old soldier like Kalb, leaving France as a brigadier-general, will not place himself under the orders of a lieutenant of nineteen; and the latter, in

so well-ordered a military hierarchy as that of the French army, will never dream of expecting anything of the kind. Moreover, the social standing of the two men was entirely equal, Lafayette being, at most, the superior in point of wealth only, while on the other hand the Comte de Broglie had placed his young friend under Kalb's guardianship. Again, if the American standard be applied, it will be remembered that Kalb as well as Lafayette had the promise of a major-general's commission from Deane, Kalb's seniority to date from the 7th of November, 1776, while that of Lafayette was of the 7th of December, for the express purpose of making the former outrank the latter. Kalb as the senior officer and Lafayette as the owner of the ship, were undoubtedly the leading men of the enterprise, as is stated by the former himself in his letter to his wife of the 6th of April, 1777.

After a long voyage of forty-five days, without any accident or noticeable adventure, the Victoire made South Inlet in the bay of Georgetown on the 13th of June, 1777. The spot is in the State of South Carolina, about half a degree north of Charleston, and is now marked on the map, in honor of our travellers, by two hamlets, Kalb and La Grange (Lafayette's country-seat). At first the captain himself could not tell where they were. Kalb, Lafayette, and Brice therefore mounted a boat with seven sailors and pulled on shore to look for a pilot. In the bay they met with two or three ignorant negro oyster fishermen, who were unable to give any coherent account of the locality, but could only say that they belonged to a major in the provincial force, and that the coast was rendered insecure by hostile cruisers. Kalb and his comrades quitted their own

boat, and directed the slaves to convey them to their master. It was ten o'clock in the evening before they reached the plantation. Their host was Major Hueger, of German descent, a man highly esteemed in the colonies, and the father of the same Hueger who subsequently figured so largely in Lafayette's unsuccessful effort to escape from the prisons of Olmutz. He received the strangers hospitably, informed them of the state of public affairs, and, after having offered them refreshment, furnished them with horses, on which, two or three days afterward, they rode to Charleston, arriving there in a scorching heat on the 17th of June. The Victoire, which drew too much water for Georgetown Bay, meanwhile threaded her way in safety through the English cruisers, and reached Charleston the same day with Kalb and Lafayette. Here they sold their cargo to great advantage, so that the latter was handsomely repaid for his risks and outlay.[29]

The preparations for the overland journey north occupied full ten days. Kalb, Lafayette, Dubuysson, Gimat, Bedaulx, and Brice, set out on the 27th of June. As the heat of the weather compelled them to make short stages, they were more than a month in getting to Philadelphia, where Congress was then sitting. On the 18th of July they reached Petersburg, Virginia, and on the 23d of the same month, Annapolis. Here Kalb and Lafayette alone arrived in good health; they therefore left their companions behind, and entered Philadelphia on the 27th of July.

On presenting themselves to the President of Congress on the following day they were received with great coolness, and referred to Lovell, the chairman of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, to whom they handed their letters and re-

commendations. He informed them, to their great astonishment, that Congress refused to ratify the contracts and appointments made by Deane.[40] The latter was accused of having transgressed his powers, not having been authorized to fill the highest positions in the army with men of his choice. The American generals had been greatly incensed at the claims recently preferred by du Coudray, and had threatened to resign in a body if ever again visited with similar encroachments upon their vested rights.

Du Coudray, having reached Philadelphia a few weeks previous to Kalb, and presuming upon the services rendered by him to the American cause in France, as well as upon the bargain concluded with Deane, had claimed in addition to the rank of a major-general, not only the command of the artillery, but also that of the engineers. A cry of indignation at the pretension of the foreigner arose in the army. Brigadier-General Knox, being himself in the command of the artillery, and therefore most immediately threatened, was particularly hostile. Although Steuben declares[41] that at the time Knox had not an idea of the manner in which a field-piece should be handled on the advance or in retreat, of course he never thought of treating that as a reason for resigning his position to a foreigner. He gained over Generals Greene and Sullivan, and the three tendered their resignation on the rumor that du Coudray's demands had been complied with. Congress rebuked the menace[42] as an interference with their rights, and an insinuation of want of confidence in their sense of justice, and exacted an apology upon declining to accept the resignations; but, on the 15th of July, 1777, they also disavowed the agreement made between Deane and du Coudray,[43] and endeavored to conciliate

both parties by bestowing on the latter the rank of major-general, on the 11th of August,[44] together with the position of Inspector-General of Ordnance. Du Coudray, although clearly in the right, had the good sense to acquiesce in this arrangement, seeing that it implied only an indirect refusal of his services, the more so as the functions of his office were never defined; he therefore applied for permission, shortly before the battle of Brandywine, to join the army as a volunteer, with the rank of a captain,[45] but was drowned on the way thither on the 16th of September, in the Schuylkill, and thus disappears entirely from the stage.

Kalb and Lafayette, with their comrades, were so unfortunate as to make their appearance during the pendency of this imbroglio. Here were thirteen foreign officers calling for appointments, three of them, Kalb, Lafayette, and Mauroy, with the rank of major-generals. The objection raised against du Coudray applied with increased force to the new comers, none the less that they also had undeniable rights to the performance of the stipulations entered into with Deane. Congress thought the best means of disembarrassing themselves consisted in repudiating every claim presented by Kalb and his friends. Lafayette was the first to extricate himself. What made his case the strongest was the private letter of Deane and Franklin to Congress, dated the 25th of May, 1717, in which they say[46] "that the marquis, a young nobleman of great family connections and great wealth, desired to serve our armies, and that the civilities and respect that might be shown to him would be serviceable to our affairs in France, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the court, but to the whole French nation." Resting upon this advocacy of his service, Lafayette at once declared his readiness to

enter the army as a volunteer, and without any claim to pay or pension. In view of such prospects in Europe and such advantageous offers in America, Congress did not hesitate long. On the 31st of July they appointed Lafayette a major-general in consideration of his zeal, his illustrious family, and his distinguished connections. Congress had judged well and wisely; the resolution contributed materially to influence public opinion in favor of an open war with England, and of an alliance with the United States.[47]

Lafayette could not but be sensible that such a preference over a veteran officer like Kalb, as whose protégé he had come into the country, was in glaring contrast to their respective merits. He accordingly had the delicacy to assure Kalb that he would accept the proffered rank only on condition of the same position being given to them both.

Kalb, on his part, was heartily glad of the good fortune of his young friend, and sufficiently disinterested to decline his proposal. On the contrary he advised him to join the army forthwith, as, after the sensation produced by his departure from France, it would not be well for a young man of his time of life to return before having achieved honor and distinction in a campaign or two. Lafayette took this excellent advice, and, a few weeks later, took part in the battle of Brandywine, where he was slightly wounded. Kalb took a fatherly interest in this little wound, which, he said, would make a good impression everywhere, and would raise his young friend in general estimation.

To the President of Congress Kalb wrote on the 1st of August, 1777, sharply and bitterly criticising the course which his affairs had taken, and convincingly demonstrating the justice of his claim.

"An accidental lameness," he says, "prevented me from calling on any member of Congress to know what has been or shall be decided in regard to the agreement between Mr. Deane and myself, and not to trouble the gentlemen of the Comitee for french officers, or multiply their business by writing in french, I take the liberty of applying to your excellency for information on that account, in explaining myself in english as much as I may be able to do it. I was vastly surprised at my being introduced to Mr. Lowell to hear him (almost in public) exclaim loudly against Mr. Deane's proceedings, and disapprove all the conventions this agent has made with several officers, as being contrary to his powers. To which I answer that a public man ought to know what powers he hath from his constituents or hath not; that Mr. Deane is generally esteemed to be a candid man and a man of sense; that whatever he may have agreed to with others, and this too perhaps in a language he did not understand, mine is in english, and so very plain that it can admit of no various interpretations; for that reason I will strictly keep to the text of it as for the rank; as to interest, I will not be too rigid but rely on Congress' pleasure. As I have till now fulfilled my part of that agreement, I wish Congress would do theirs, without loss of time, and let me hear of their resolution thereof. I would not be a simple spectator in the scenes preparing for opening.

"If you will not ratify Mr. Deane's engagement and appoint me as major-general in your army, I am ready to return to Europe, but think myself entitled to ask you a sufficient sum for my going home. I received from Mr. Deane 1,200 livres French money, and certainly by going to and fro in France, by his direction, and all other expenses until my arrival at

Philadelphia, I spent twice as much. And though I ardently desired to serve America, I did not mean to do so in spending part of my own and my children's fortune—for what is deemed generosity in the Marquis de Lafayette would be downright madness in me, who does not possess one of the first-rate fortunes. If I were in his circumstances I should perhaps have acted like he did. I am very glad that you granted his wishes; he is a worthy young man, and no one will outdo him in enthusiasm in your cause of liberty and independence. My wishes will always be that his successes as general-major will equal his zeal and your expectation. But I must confess, sir, that this distinction between him and myself is painful and very displeasing to me. We came on the same errand, with the same promises, and as military men and for military purposes, I flatter myself that if there was to be any preference it would be due to me. 34 years of constant attendance on military service, & my station & rank in that way, may well be laid in the scale with his disinterestedness, and be at least of the same weight and value; this distinction is very unaccountable in an infant state of a commonwealth, but this is none of my business. I only want to know whether Congress will appoint me as general-major, and with the seniority I have a right to expect this (for I cannot stay here in a lesser capacity). It would seem very odd and ridiculous to the french ministry and all experienced military men to see me placed under the command of the Marquis de la Fayette. If, on the contrary, it will not be agreeable to the U. S., I ask your excellency to give me full satisfaction for the purpose of going back, so that I may leave this country as soon as possible. I hope there will be no difficulty in fulfilling my last request, for I should be sorry to be compelled to

carry my case against Mr. Deane or his successors for damages. And such an action would injure his credit and negotiations, and those of the state at court.

"I do not think that either my name, my services, or my person are proper objects to be trifled with or laughed at. I cannot tell you, sir, how deeply I feel the injury done to me, and how ridiculous it seems to me to make people leave their homes, families, and affairs to cross the sea under a 1000 different dangers, to be received and to be looked at with contempt by those from whom you were to expect but warm thanks." *

Although Kalb was entirely justified in what he claimed, he was at the same time sufficiently liberal to appreciate the difficulties with which Congress was then contending. They had to choose between displeasing their own officers, men who had sacrificed their livelihoods to the service of the country in the field, in some cases with distinction and success, and offending foreigners who, however generous in their offers, were, with the single exception of Kalb, ignorant of the language of the country, and of untried merits. For, whatever advantages they derived from a more thorough military education and more extensive experience, it was yet by no means certain that they would be able to make their qualities available on new ground and with new material. Congress was obliged to consider the question whether they ought to risk a rupture with men like Greene and Sullivan, whether they ought to go the length of driving the native officers out of the service, and, above all, whether their course would meet with the approbation of the army and the people. Of course it was out of the question for them to come to a declared issue

* A true copy of the original letter.

with either the one or the other. Even at the hazard of a quarrel with the French officers, they had no course to pursue except to disavow Deane's course, and take sides with the native generals. According to the letter of the contract Congress was clearly in the wrong, and would have been the losing party if the matter had been litigated before the civil tribunals of their own country; but in political and State matters it is frequently better to cut a knot than to untie it. Kalb himself frankly admits in a letter to his wife of the 19th of September, 1777, that he and his company were too numerous, and invested with too many positions of a high grade, not to have excited the natural discontent of the American officers.

On the 8th of September Congress resolved that Deane had no authority to make the conventions relied upon by the French officers, for which reason Congress were not bound to ratify or to fulfil them; that, nevertheless, thanks be given to those gentlemen, and that their expenses to this continent and on their return to France be paid. Kalb now prepared a statement of the expenses prepared by each individual, and submitted them to Congress, who, on the 14th of September, scrupulously complied with their responsibilities in this particular. Some of the French officers who had come with the Victoire returned by way of Boston and Portsmouth, others by way of Southern ports.

Kalb intended to join the latter group. He had barely recovered from a fever which had confined him to his bed and room for six full weeks. On the 15th of September he left Philadelphia, with Delesser, Valfort, and Dubuysson, took the route by way of Bethlehem, where he paid his Moravian countrymen a visit of which he has left a minute description,

and was about to proceed thence to Lancaster, when a messenger of Congress reached him with the news that he had been elected a major-general on the day of his departure. During his stay at Philadelphia, and the negotiations in which he was the principal actor, he had made the acquaintance of several of the most influential members of Congress, and had so impressed them with a sense of his efficiency, that they endeavored to secure his services for the United States. They accordingly moved the creation of a new major-generalship. The motion was adopted, and he elected to the post, on the 15th of September.[49]

On being advised of this transaction, Kalb took a night to consider upon it, and next morning declined the offer, stating his reasons. However, at the solicitations of the envoy of Congress, he promised to reconsider the matter, and to forward his answer to Philadelphia in a few days. A principal reason for his refusal was the fear that the returning French officers, who had the same rights and prospects with himself, would take offence at his separating himself from them, and would make representations unfavorable to himself to the Comte de Broglie and the French minister.

"Congress replied," wrote Kalb to his wife,[50] "that they had no objection whatever to those gentlemen, except that they could not understand a word of English, and were therefore in the first instance incapable of serving in the army or in the country. I have meditated further over the matter, and have considered it in a twofold aspect. If I return, no one can complain of me, for I have done no man harm, and have served every one to the extent of my powers. But in that case I shall attain none of the objects for which I have undertaken this journey. If I remain, Valfort, who

knows all my movements and understands my motives, will undertake my defence on his return. Besides, I am persuaded in advance, that the marshal, as well as the Comte de Broglie, will approve of my seizing the most enterprising and dangerous horn of the dilemma, and preferring to deprive myself for some time longer of my domestic comforts and my family. The Chevalier Dubuysson will acquaint Congress with the conditions on which I accept their offer. If they are granted, so much the better for me; if rejected, I shall at least have the honor of having declined what was offered to me alone, and shall soon again salute you and our household gods."

Congress, without acceding to every one of Kalb's stipulations, complied with his wishes in the main, and issued his commission on the 4th of October, the day after the battle of Germantown, ordering his seniority to date from the 31st of July, the day of Lafayette's appointment,[51] and promised him the command of a division just vacated. They had even offered to antedate his commission to the 7th of November, 1776, confirming the appointment made by Deane; Kalb, however, declared himself satisfied with escaping the ridicule of ranking under Lafayette, and therefore requested his commission to bear the same date with that of the latter. This was done.

On the 13th of October Kalb set out to join the army, then encamped in the neighborhood of the battle-field of Germantown, twelve or fifteen miles north of Philadelphia, in Montgomery County, between the Perkiomen and Whitemarsh Creeks.

CHAPTER VII.

KALB JOINS THE ARMY.—IS PLACED IN COMMAND OF A DIVISION.—CONWAY ALONE OPPOSED TO HIM.—HIS COMPLAINTS.—KALB GOES TO RED BANK AND OPPOSES AN ATTACK ON PHILADELPHIA—HIS ELABORATE REPORT TO THE COMTE DE BROGLIE, OF THE 24TH OF FEBRUARY, 1778.—RECAPITULATION OF EVENTS SINCE THE END OF JULY, 1777.—MOVEMENTS OF THE ENGLISH.—BATTLE OF BRANDYWINE.—BRAVERY OF THE AMERICAN TROOPS.—LAFAYETTE.—STRATEGICAL ERROR OF WASHINGTON.—HIS WELL-LAID PLANS AT THE SCHUYLKILL FRUSTRATED BY WAYNE.—OCCUPATION OF PHILADELPHIA BY THE BRITISH.—SUCCESSES OF THE AMERICAN ARMS IN THE NORTH.—GATES AND BURGOYNE.—CHARACTER OF WASHINGTON.—BROGLIE'S ASPIRATIONS TO THE DICTATORSHIP OF AMERICA REDUCED TO ZERO.—BATTLE OF GERMANTOWN.—ENERGY OF THE COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.—WANT OF A NAVY.—STATE OF THINGS IN CAMP.—KALB'S COMPANIONS.—THEIR DIMINISHED NUMBERS.—DIFFICULTY OF FINDING BERTHS FOR THEM.—EXTRAVAGANT DEMANDS OF DU COUDRAY AND HIS FOLLOWERS.—OPERATIONS ON AND NEAR THE DELAWARE.—COLONEL DONOP.—HIS DEATH AND LAST WORDS.—FAVORABLE MOMENT FOR FRANCE TO DECLARE WAR AGAINST ENGLAND.—PROBABLE RUIN OF A FLEET.—KALB ORDERED TO RED BANK.—RESOLUTION TO BLOW UP THE FORT.—KALB THROWS REËNFORCEMENTS INTO NEW JERSEY.—MOVEMENTS IN THE FIELD.—THE AMERICAN TROOPS NOT SO STRONG AS THE ENGLISH.—BAD ADMINISTRATION OF THE ARMY.—KALB'S DIVISION.—HE WANTS TO ATTACK THE REARGUARD OF THE ENGLISH.—WASHINGTON FORBIDS IT.—SKIRMISH AT WATSON'S FORT.—BLUNDER OF SULLIVAN.—WINTER-QUARTERS AT VALLEY FORGE.—BAD SELECTION OF THE CAMP GROUND.—WASHINGTON SURROUNDED BY EVIL COUNSELLORS.—SMALL NUMBER OF SOLDIERS FIT FOR DUTY.—SLOVENLY CONDITION OF THE MILITIA.—DIFFICULTY OF RECRUITING.—WANT AND SICKNESS IN THE CAMP.—OVER-FATIGUE OF THE SOLDIERS.—SUPERFLUOUS OFFICERS AND EXPENSIVE OFFICERS.—DISORDER IN THE QUARTERMASTER'S DEPARTMENT.—FREQUENT AND IRKSOME PARADES.—KALB'S PERSONAL POSITION IN THE CAMP.—PECULATIONS OF THE CONTRACTORS.—MUTUAL JEALOUSY OF THE FRENCH OFFICERS.—LAFAYETTE THE SOLE EXCEPTION.—KALB'S PLANS OF RETURNING TO FRANCE AND PRO-

VIDING FOR THE FUTURE.—DESIRES TO GO BACK TO EUROPE.—BUT REMAINS FOR THE PRESENT.

KALB was prepared to leave at once, if his appearance in camp should give rise to disagreeable remarks, or his reception should be other than a cheerful one. But, being cordially welcomed by all the American officers, he assumed the command, in the early part of November, of a division assigned him, which was formed of New England regiments.[52]

He was assailed, however, by the petty envy of the Irishman Conway. This brigadier, who subsequently acquired an unenviable prominence in the annals of the American revolution by the cabal, already inaugurated, and since designated by his name, felt himself injured and foreshortened in his claims by the appointment of Kalb as major-general. Although, like the latter, he had quitted the French service with the rank of brigadier, he endeavored to make it appear that he had formerly been Kalb's superior officer, and was now unjustly subordinate to him. "It is with exquisite concern," writes Conway complainingly to Congress,[53] "that I find myself slighted and forgot, when you have offered rank to persons who cost you a great deal of money, and have never rendered you the least service. Baron de Kalb, to whom you have offered the rank of Major-General, is my inferior in France."

And thus he proceeded to utter his complaints and objections, winding up with a demand of a major-general's commission. He approached Washington in the same manner; but the latter knew his man too well to be influenced by threats, and coolly repelled his advances. Nevertheless, by the aid of powerful friends in Congress, and in the teeth of Washington's well-founded remonstrances, he managed to

have himself appointed, on the 13th of December, 1777, inspector-general of the army, with the rank of major-general. He however forfeited this position in April, 1778, when, having, on an unimportant occasion, renewed his threat of resigning, he was taken at his word, and his subsequent exculpatory declarations refused a hearing.

Kalb gave little heed to these annoyances, and soon had the good fortune to gain the esteem of the officers, and the appreciation of the commander-in-chief. We first meet with his name in the middle of November, 1777, when he was sent by Washington, with Generals St. Clair and Knox, to examine the fortifications at Red Bank.[44] On the 24th of the same month, some days after his return from Jersey, he attended a council of war, convened for the purpose of expressing an opinion of the feasibility of making an immediate attack on Philadelphia. Kalb was one of eleven generals who unequivocally opposed the undertaking in question. As but four voted in its favor, it was not attempted.

In his letters to the Comte de Broglie and to his wife, Kalb not only gives a full report of this service, but also carries his narrative back to the date of his arrival in Philadelphia, and discusses the subsequent course of events. These letters serve no less to characterize the writer than to throw light upon the operations in the field, and thus furnish an important contribution to the history of the war. The opinions he expresses may seem harsh and even unfeeling; they may appear just to some, and unjust to others; but we must remember that a European, who could have no idea of the subsequent developments of American history, would naturally judge far more critically than a native, or one whose feelings were entirely identified with the American army. We who

have the opportunity of contemplating men and events in the light of after times, look upon them with different eyes from their contemporaries. The variance between Kalb's opinion and the views now held of Washington's strategy, can be, at all events, no reason for suppressing these letters.

"I had the honor, M. le Comte," Kalb writes at Lancaster, the 24th of September, 1777, to the Comte de Broglie,[88] "to send you from South Carolina Nos. 1, 2, and 3 of my letters, containing the announcement of our arrival in America. No. 4 was dated at Philadelphia, and details our reception there. I also informed you therein of the appointment of M. de Lafayette as major-general, without pay or command, and the consequent resolution of all his comrades—except his aide-de-camp M. de Gimat—to return to Europe. I trust these letters have come safely to hand. On the 17th of September I reported, in cypher, the battle of Wilmington and its consequences. Having reason to fear, however, that that writing has been lost, I shall recapitulate the most interesting events which have occurred since the close of July.

"On the 30th of that month the English fleet appeared in the Delaware, numbering twenty sail. General Washington was apprised of this manœuvre, and of the instructions of the English Government to General Howe, directing him to reduce Philadelphia at any cost, and arrived with his army, the same day, nine miles below the town. After remaining there three days he advanced to Wilmington, on the Christina River. When the fleet stood out to sea, Washington marched up the stream to a point thirty miles above Philadelphia, partly to secure the crossing into the Jerseys, and partly to be ready for any further movements of the enemy. No sooner was it ascertained that General Howe had entered Chesa-

peake Bay, than Washiugton resumed his march, and took up a position fifteen miles below Philadelphia, in order to resist a landing of the English, wherever attempted. Howe finally disembarked his troops at Head of Elk [now Elkton], whereupon Washington advanced to Wilmington. However, he lost so much time that the English succeeded in occupying a strong position on a height, called Iron Hill, where the General massed his corps, supposed to number thirteen or fourteen thousand men. These constituted nearly the whole English force, only the last levies of Tory recruits having been left at New York. To the shame of the country it must be said that New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Maryland contain a large number of these Tories, a circumstance well understood by the English Government, when they ordered the revolution to be combated from the middle provinces as a base of operations.

"On the 9th and 10th of September General Howe made a feint of turning Washington's flank. As he approached the insurgent army, the latter retreated out of its position on the heights of Brandywine, where it could have baffled all the efforts of the enemy, by simply holding the precipitous bank of the river. On the 11th General Howe made a feigned attack upon a ford strongly defended by Washington, but carried his main body over a ford which the Americans had overlooked, and then fell upon them with so much vigor, that after a stout resistance, they were beaten and scattered. They are said to have lost eight field-pieces, and about six hundred men in killed, wounded, and prisoners.* The

* Owing to a remarkable similarity in the conformation of the ground, the disposition of General Howe was exactly like those made by the King of Prussia at the battle of Kunersdorf, when he caused General Fink to engage the attention of Soltikow until he succeeded in carrying his army across the

various engagements lasted, with some interruptions, from seven o'clock in the morning till sundown. The Marquis de Lafayette was wounded by a ball, which entered his left thigh. The loss of the English must have been considerable, for they did not venture to pursue, but remained several days on the field of battle. Advancing, at length, to Chester, they retired to Wilmington, at the approach of General Washington. The latter, after the affair, had retreated first to Chester, next to Darby, and on the third day to Schuylkill. Thence he reported to Congress that his troops were reorganized and in high spirits, and anxious to be led once more against the enemy. On the 19th he encountered the British, marching in three columns, so far apart that if the Americans had taken the right column on the flank, which they could easily have done, they would have totally routed the English, cutting off their retreat. Indeed they would have been crushed to atoms, their fleet not having being able to leave Chesapeake Bay, and of course not to enter the Delaware, thus putting them at the mercy of the enemy, if the American commander had known how to improve the advantages of his position, and those of surprising the enemy. But instead of so doing he frittered away his time in slow and ill-conceived manœuvres, which only resulted in directing the attack upon the head or strongest point of the column, and in giving the enemy time to bring up the other columns. When at length the dispositions for an attack were completed, a shower came on, so violent that every piece refused to go off, the ammunition became useless, and each army went its way unmolesting and unmolested. Washington, forgetting

river at a point higher up the stream, whence he assailed and drove the right wing of the Russians. (MS. notes of Adjutant-Captain F. von Muenchhausen, who served under General Howe.)

that the enemy's powder was in no better condition than his own, retreated to the Schuylkill in great haste, marching night and day, amid torrents of rain. His troops, often up to their waists in water, dwindled away to such an extent, that of what was said to be twenty thousand men, the strongest body ever put into the field by the colonies, he had but six thousand remaining. With this feeble remnant he was forced to keep on the defensive. No sooner did General Howe perceive his own escape and the movements of the enemy, than he marched in pursuit, and concentrated his columns on the Schuylkill. Washington threw a division across the river to observe the enemy, and another into his rear, to harass him in case of an engagement. The plan was well devised, but ill executed. General Wayne, who commanded the latter division, suffered himself to be surprised, with a loss of six hundred men, whereupon both divisions were ordered to recross the river. To crown all Howe executed a masked movement upon his right wing, crossed at a ford about twelve miles above Philadelphia, and posted himself between the American army and the town, which thus fell into his hands on the 28th of September. Washington is now massing his force, for the purpose of driving the enemy out of the town again, before the arrival of the fleet. All are eagerly expecting what a day may bring forth. In Canada the English General is said to have taken Ticonderoga about the end of June—through the pusillanimity or treason of the commander. The insurgents were already driven back to within twenty miles of Albany. Now, however, the scales have turned. It is said that the English have been defeated by General Gates in several engagements. General Burgoyne, who has lately arrived, is said to be

wounded, and Ticonderoga so hemmed in, that it can hold out no longer; while a number of English galleys are alleged to have fallen into the hands of the enemy.

"I have not yet told you anything of the character of General Washington. He is the most amiable, kind-hearted, and upright of men; but as a General he is too slow, too indolent, and far too weak; besides, he has a tinge of vanity in his composition, and overestimates himself. In my opinion whatever success he may have will be owing to good luck and to the blunders of his adversaries, rather than to his abilities. I may even say that he does not know how to improve upon the grossest blunders of the enemy. He has not yet overcome his old prejudice against the French.

"If I return to Europe, it will be with the greatest mortification, as it is impossible to execute the great design I have so gladly come to subserve. M. de Valfort will tell you that the project in question is totally impracticable; it would be regarded no less as an act of crying injustice against Washington, than as an outrage on the honor of the country."

"On the 4th of this month," continues Kalb, writing to de Broglie from New York, October 11th, "Washington, having marched to Germantown, six miles from Philadelphia, the day before, under cover of a dense fog, fell upon three columns of the English force. He made the attack with his right wing, in two columns (the left wing under General Greene having failed to come up in time), drove in the enemy a mile and a half beyond the lines of his outposts, and only retired after an obstinate combat of three hours' duration. The English did not venture to follow. Washington again drew up his troops in line of battle, determined to renew the attack on the arrival of Greene's column. But, after waiting

for the latter in vain, he abandoned the plan for that day, and fell back upon Germantown.

"Congress, now in session at York, have been assured by the commander that they will soon be in a condition to retransfer their sittings to Philadelphia. Indeed, the equipment of the troops is going on with vigor. The Americans seem to be bent upon using up or capturing the royal army at all hazards, even if every Englishman should cost them four of their own. In my opinion they should have formed and carried out this resolution long ago, for in the end they cannot fail to succeed in driving the British from the continent.

"One obstacle remains, however, which exceeds all others —the absence of a navy. Without assistance from abroad they will never get one. As long as they cannot engage in commerce, they will suffer for want of many articles of use and consumption, which, for the present, they cannot think of producing for themselves. And how, without commercial prosperity, will they ever discharge the enormous debt the war has fastened upon them?

"Several members of Congress are urging me to accept the offered commission and join the army at once, as a serious engagement is expected to take place within a few days. Unless, however, Washington gives me the same advice, and assigns me to the vacant division as Congress has promised, I shall take my leave, and return to Europe in company with M. de Valfort."

"I have the honor, M. le Comte," thus reads Kalb's next letter, dated November the 2d, 1777, in camp, fourteen miles from Philadelphia, "in my last, to give you an account of the battle of Wilmington and the affair of Germantown. Since then no events of importance have occurred. On the 14th I

reached the army, and was very kindly received by the commander-in-chief, without whose consent I was unwilling to take command of the division intended for me by Congress. This course of mine seems to have given him pleasure, as he intends to demand the promotion of two brigadiers, his friends, and the removal of two major-generals. In that case the Marquis de Lafayette, as well as myself, would shortly command a division. As for the rest, I believe the service will not be attended with any particular amenities, nor will it be productive of glory. It is a great deal that a stranger does not dishonor himself in his own eyes and that of his countrymen. In this respect such extraordinary things occur here as would scarcely be credited in Europe. An officer, for instance, will leave his command at the beginning of a fight, informing his superior that he has something else to do somewhere else, or omitting to make this explanation (which will do equally well), will remain away till the action is over, and will then return, and nobody refers to the subject; he returns to duty, pockets his pay, and repeats the manœuvre at the next opportunity. Nothing of this kind is to be imputed to any of the French officers now serving here; on the contrary, all the world agree that those among them known to me personally or by name, are brave men. It is true, however, that some of them are unpopular, partly on account of their quarrels among themselves, and partly on account of the perplexities occasioned by their ignorance of the language.

"Our caravan has dwindled down to a very small number. It has met with many difficulties, as Congress could not bestow the higher charges claimed by many of them, who would have been greatly puzzled to understand their instructions, and still more so to give orders themselves. These difficulties

were further aggravated by the demands of the deceased du Coudray, for at first it was desired to retain in or take into the service all who had either made some progress in the English language, or at least seemed to be making efforts to acquire it. Had M. de Valfort consented to remain, Congress would undoubtedly have made him a brigadier. I might even have made that a condition of my own entrance into the army. I would certainly have made this stipulation for no one else. The others indulged in complaints against various members of Congress, against the Government, and against the service in general. These remarks were repeated and interpreted as indications of ill-will to the country. I believe I forgot to inform you in my last that I told Dubois Martin before his departure, that it depended upon him alone whether he would be my aid or not; and that he declined the offer on the sole pretext that he had not any military equipments.

"I beseech you, M. le Comte, to rest assured that I shall always execute your wishes and commands in respectful devotion, and that I have done all in my power for the officers under your protection. The Marquis de Lafayette and M. de Valfort are acquainted with my conduct in this respect from the day we set out until the moment of my appointment as major-general. I will not here specify the measures taken and the labor performed for them, as it is only necessary to compare the treatment of the officers who came with me, with that of the companions of du Coudray, to decide whether my efforts and my credit have been of any avail or not. Our company now consists of the Marquis de Lafayette, MM. de Grammont and Brice, his aide, M. Capitaine, who has not yet arrived, but will certainly remain, MM. de la Colombe and du Vrigny, whom the marquis hopes to employ in the cav-

alry, M. Bedaulx, who meets with difficulties in spite of his connections and his philological acquirements, M. Dubuysson, and myself. What has particularly induced me to stay is the desire to see your adherents more largely represented here than the portégés of the other gentlemen of the court, who have taken part in American affairs. Almost all the artillerists and engineers who have come with du Coudray seem anxious to go back. The fault is their own, as Congress is only willing to appoint them with the rank they claim, while they ask for a great deal of money. I do not know what will be the end of these disputes, or the resolutions of Congress; but I am glad I have always stood aloof from du Coudray's friends. Their demands had already produced so much dissatisfaction at the time of my arrival in the country, that any interference with their affairs would only have brought me into trouble.

"Reports from the North are to the effect that the English General Burgoyne has capitulated, and that his entire army are prisoners of war. General Howe still holds out in Philadelphia. We are fourteen miles from the city, and are endeavoring to hem it in more and more. For three weeks Howe has been unsuccessfully operating against Fort Mifflin, which is on an island in the Delaware near Philadelphia, as well as Red Bank, on the left bank of the same river. These forts are protected by three American frigates and a number of gunboats, which blew up an English man-of-war of six guns and a frigate of thirty-two guns on the 22d of October. On the same day an assault on Red Bank was repulsed with loss. We took eighty prisoners, including several officers, and Colonel Donop, who was severely wounded. If the forts hold out, so as to prevent the English fleet from getting to

the town before the setting in of the hard frosts, it must stand out to sea again, and General Howe will find it difficult to maintain his present position."

"Colonel Donop," says Kalb in concluding this report on the 7th of November, "has died, deeply mourned by his soldiers. His last words were, that he died a sacrifice to the cupidity of his sovereign. The successes in the North are confirmed. If His Majesty could resolve upon a war, how favorable would be the present moment! It would be easy to intercept at sea the 5,100 men of Burgoyne's army who are now to be conveyed to Europe (but were retained in America). A French squadron of ten or twelve line-of-battle ships, sent at once into Delaware Bay, could force the whole English fleet to surrender. In consequence of such a victory the English in Philadelphia would fall into our hands at the same time. What glory for France, to finish the war in less than a campaign, and to dictate terms to England. The blow would be certain. I have not the least doubt that the English fleet will resume its present position next year, if General Howe does not evacuate Philadelphia, which he will do only at the utmost need. I begin to believe that our forts will not hold out long enough to compel him to retreat. In that case he will still need the fleet, to provision his army, as much as he does now."

"Since my last letter of November the 7th, M. le Comte," Kalb goes on to say, in his letter of December 12, 1777, written in camp, seventeen miles from Philadelphia, "nothing new has occurred in the army. Detachments, marches, and countermarches, without material results for either side—that is all. It should be mentioned, however, that the English have burned three of their men-of-war,

which had run aground in the Delaware. On the other hand the enemy's artillery have destroyed and laid open our Fort Mifflin, so that we were compelled to leave it. But we carried off the only piece of ordnance not disabled.

"On the 17th of November I was directed by the commander-in-chief, with two other generals, to go to Jersey, and ascertain whether Red Bank could resist a hostile attack, or would have to be abandoned and destroyed at the approach of the enemy. We were to consult the navy officers of the United States now cruising in the Delaware. They were unanimously of opinion that the superiority of the hostile artillery made a defence impossible. We found this confirmed. Not only are the defences of the fort so dilapidated that in a very few days the garrison must be destroyed or captured, but its location is so unfavorable that without the support of ships it cannot molest the enemy in the least. It would neither prevent him from constructing chevaux de frise in the channel, nor damage his frigates and transports. It was therefore resolved to mine the fortifications, and, if the troops stationed in the Jerseys should cross Mente Creek, and not be successfully repulsed, to evacuate the fort and blow it up. This has since been done under the direction of General Varnum.

"Four days later, after my return to headquarters at Whitemarsh, General Washington ordered me to throw reënforcements into Jersey, General Howe having greatly increased his forces there of late. Our camp was threatened by this movement, on which account our troops were withdrawn from the left bank of the Delaware. By good fortune four brigades from the army of the North arrived just in time to make us a match for the enemy. On the 3d of Decem-

ber Howe approached and made sundry feints both to the right and to the left, in the hope of decoying us out of our strong position. He continued traversing the field for eight days, we also keeping in bivouac, but never quitting our ground. He did not venture to attack us; nor was it advisable for us to advance upon him and sacrifice the advantages of the ground. For, in other respects, the chances were by no means equal. Had the enemy been defeated, he would have retreated in safety to Philadelphia; had the fortune of the day turned against us, we should have risked the loss of our whole army, and the downfall of the cause. For you will hardly believe, M. le Comte, that the enemy still exceeds us in numbers, and that our army has at no time mustered fifteen thousand men. Howe has that force in effective men. I am certain that in spite of the reënforcements above mentioned, and in consequence of hardships, cold, and insufficient clothing, our army has been reduced until the men capable of performing duty are not more than seven thousand, while our hospitals are crowded. And how are the latter administered! And in the face of all this the soldier is worried with parades—and such parades—three times longer than is necessary, and on marching days as well as others. This gives me as much regret as it fills me with disgust. However, I am on good terms with the commanding general. He has formed a division for me, consisting of two brigades, all New England troops, which are regarded as the best.

"The English finally retired to Philadelphia, after ravaging the country and burning many houses. I had correctly divined their intention to retreat from the position assumed by them; knowing, also, that their provisions were exhausted,

their supplies cut off, and the surrounding country laid waste, I calculated upon defeating their rear, being well-acquainted with the ground, and knowing that the main body could not be brought into action against me. Besides, it was already three o'clock in the afternoon, and my retreat perfectly secure. I requested the commander-in-chief to allow me to make a sally with a part of my division. He thanked me very kindly, but only permitted me, if I thought proper, to detach a little corps of observation, and desired any attack to be avoided. I therefore sent a little detachment of infantry and cavalry after the English, directing Major Dubuysson to show them the way. They hung on the rear of the enemy for five miles, and by that gentleman's report to the commanding general it appeared that nothing would have been easier than, with four field-pieces, to have utterly defeated, and, indeed, cut off and captured a part of the rear guard, numbering some five hundred men, while passing a long defile.

"On the 11th of December we broke camp, to take up a position on the right bank of the Schuylkill, six miles in advance. Two divisions of the right wing had already passed our pontoon bridge at Matson's Ford, when suddenly an intrenched camp was seen there, from which the enemy had assailed and cannonaded the militia marching in the front. The great distance made it impossible that General Howe should have been informed of our movements in time to have thrown his main body in our way. It was clear that this was only a strong detachment, which had ventured out in search of provisions. Instead, howeve·, of falling upon the enemy and engaging him, or making a détour, General Sullivan, who commanded our right wing, retreated across

the bridge, and ordered it to be taken down, abandoning the militia to their fate. Thus we remained on the left bank, at Swedes Ford, three miles above, where we constructed a new bridge, no better than the old one. Before the day was over we learned that the hostile corps numbered but two thousand men, and made off in the utmost haste.

"On the 14th," continues Kalb in a postscript written in camp at Gulph's Mill, December 17, 1777, "we crossed the river by two fords and two bridges, and pitched this camp. Yesterday we were detained by the weather, and to-day by the fast proclaimed by Congress.

"Warfare in this country is toilsome and difficult, and the season is too far advanced for us to remain in the field. Nevertheless we do remain. Although we expect to go into winter-quarters the day after to-morrow, we must expect a winter campaign, as the enemy gives us little rest, and his main position is only twenty or twenty-two miles away. The miserable hovels we are constructing in these dreary mountains are, therefore, very far from deserving the honorable designation of winter-quarters. Houses are not to be had, even for generals. I shall personally superintend the erection of my castle, in order to have it as little badly built as possible. But be that as it may, Valley Forge is to be our winter retreat, if that name can be applied to so ill-defended a camp so near to the enemy. Repose will certainly not be our portion, as the number of those fit for duty is very small, in consequence of the great number of sick and of discharges. I am the officer of the day every fourth day. Twenty-four such hours afford employment sufficient for two men; and even in my brief leisure hours I hardly have a moment to myself, being then obliged to look after

my division, and to attend the various consultations and councils of war.

"On the 19th instant," Kalb concludes his report to de Broglie at Valley Forge, on the 25th of December, "the army reached this wooded wilderness, certainly one of the poorest districts of Pennsylvania; the soil thin, uncultivated, and almost uninhabited, without forage and without provisions! Here we are to go into winter-quarters, *i. e.*, to lie in shanties, generals and privates, to enable the army, it is said, to recover from its privations, to recruit, to re-equip, and to prepare for the opening of the coming campaign, while protecting the country against hostile inroads. The matter has been the subject of long debates in the council of war. It was discussed in all its length and breadth—a bad practice to which they are addicted here—and good advice was not taken. The idea of wintering in this desert can only have been put into the head of the commanding general by an interested speculator, or a disaffected man. Means were found of implicating Congress, which body has the foible of interfering with matters which it neither understands nor can understand, being entirely ignorant of the locality. It is unfortunate that Washington is so easily led. He is the bravest and truest of men, has the best intentions, and a sound judgment. I am convinced that he would accomplish substantial results, if he would only act more upon his own responsibility; but it is a pity that he is so weak, and has the worst of advisers in the men who enjoy his confidence. If they are not traitors, they are certainly gross ignoramuses. I am satisfied that our present position, if retained, will offer none of the advantages expected from it. On the contrary, the army will be kept in continual

alarms from being too near the enemy, and too feeble, for our whole effective force hardly amounts to six thousand men. To use them for the protection of the country, excludes every idea of rest. It might have been expected that a camp would have been formed in a secure position, and compact in its design, corresponding to the small number of the army; and that it would have been strongly intrenched, so as to resist any attack. Instead of this the divisions are encamped so far asunder, that we are practically split up into a number of petty detachments, isolated so as to be unable to support each other, and helplessly exposed to every assault. Who knows whether we shall not receive a severe blow this winter? When the enemy go foraging, we remain quiet in camp. If we were properly informed of their movements, we might intercept their foraging parties. But in most cases we never hear a word about them. A fine management for recuperating and making the army effective! And if recruiting is to be attempted, the effective force must be still further reduced, by detailing officers and men for that purpose. If this is done sparingly, but few recruits will be obtained, and the army will go out of the winter-quarters as puny as it went in. Unless Congress will speedily throw off their present vacillation, and adopt energetic measures for completing the regiments and compelling the militia to serve for three years (a step I have been daily advocating for a long time), a time will come when the General will not be able to calculate upon having twenty men to command next morning. The men are drafted in classes, and are only called upon to pledge themselves for a service of two months. After the expiration of that time no man can compel them to remain another day. This state

of things is a burthen to the State and to the citizen; there is no end to the drilling of raw recruits, from which the service derives no manner of benefit. This system of militia service will yet prove the destruction of the cause. The devil himself could not have made a worse arrangement. On the regular troops it entails a further disadvantage. The moneyed militiaman—and the majority are of this description—does not march himself, but hires a substitute, whom he pays from $200 to $1,000 for two months' service. These gentry are well content to pocket this amount of money for an eight weeks' promenade, and take good care not to enlist permanently—the very thing which the greater part of them would do if the militia service was abolished, or the militia only employed to fill up the old regiments. You may imagine the difficulty of recruiting under these circumstances. I do not know what is done in the clothing department; but it is certain that half the army are half naked, and almost the whole army go barefoot. As to patrolling the country round, it is not even carried so far as to keep the road from Lancaster to Erie, and from Erie to the Delaware, in our control. A number of officers have joined me in urging this measure. But it was objected that by so doing we should expose the banks of the Delaware, the eastern part of Maryland, and several counties of Pennsylvania. But do we not expose them now, and all the more? The whole difference would be that such a disposition would enable us to live on what now constitute the supplies of the enemy.

"Our men are also infected with the itch, a matter which attracts very little attention either at the hospitals or in camp. I have seen the poor fellows covered over and over with scab. I have caused my seven regiments to put up

barracks large enough to hold all these unfortunates, so that they can be subjected to medical treatment away from the others.

"All things seem to contribute to the ruin of our cause. If it is sustained, it can only be by a special interposition of Providence. The army contractors have been consulted as to the best place for going into winter-quarters, and have declared that the present location is the most convenient for them. This, by-the-bye, was done contrary to my advice. Now we have hardly been here six days, and are already suffering for want of everything. The men have had neither meat nor bread for four days, and our horses are often left for days without any fodder. What will be done when the roads grow worse, and the season more severe? Strong detachments ought to be sent out at once, to get in provisions. And what rest is given to the soldier? The generals never think of sparing their men. They take the full complement of guards to which their rank entitles them. The general of the highest grade has a lieutenant with thirty men, the brigadier a sergeant with twelve men to watch him, and the remaining staff officers in proportion. To set a good example, I have taken it upon myself to reduce the number in my division. This has been much commended but by no means imitated. Imitation is not in vogue here.

"In addition to this there is here a series of officers very expensive and totally superfluous. Every brigade has its commissary of subsistence, its quartermaster, its wagon-master, its commissary of forage, and each of these again has his deputies. Each general, again, is entitled to a special commissary of subsistence and three commissaries of forage. All these men rank as officers, and really have nothing to do.

My blacksmith is a captain! The very numerous assistant-quartermasters are for the most part men of no military education whatever, in many cases ordinary hucksters, but always colonels. The same rank is held by the contractors-general and their agents (*fournisseur général et facteur général*). It is safe to accost every man as a colonel who talks to me with familiarity; the officers of a lower grade are invariably more modest. In a word, the army teems with colonels. The quartermasters-general provide quarters for the commander-in-chief and for themselves, but for nobody else. The other generals, even some of the officers, take their quarters where and as they please and can. For this purpose thousands are often to be seen hastening on in advance of the army. In the rear of it nobody thinks of the distance. Luckily we have an enemy to deal with as clumsy as ourselves. If any one you have occasion to look for is to be found, it is only to be accomplished by good luck or indefatigable perambulations. Plans of quarters are unknown. It is necessary to live a long time in every camp, before you can find your way. All my remonstrances against this abuse were of no avail. I have abandoned the practice of suggesting improvements in the service and in organization. I have had the greatest trouble in making them understand the necessity of strong patrols for visiting the posts. They had no idea of a system of pickets and outposts. Detachments of dragoons were usually employed, who of course knew nothing about it. Thus it happened that posts were often missed for days, and were not relieved, from ignorance of their locality, and that the officers, in visiting the posts, were always groping in the dark. The party who had posted them, on arriving in camp, could only tell approxi-

mately where they stood. The other day, when I was relieved from being officer of the day, my successor inquired whether I had held a parade. I answered that I should never unnecessarily increase the troubles of the soldiers, nor keep them under arms to no purpose. For it has been very cold for a month, and the assembly as well as the mounting of the guard is done so slowly, that it generally consumes two hours. My comrade replied that he had ordered up all the drummers, and meant to have a grand parade.

"But I must tell you, M. le Comte, how a grand parade is managed. When the troops are drawn up in order, the officers of the guard and those commanding the pickets post themselves opposite the line on horseback. The drummers then march solemnly down the front from right to left, and back again from left to right, beating their drums all the time. Then they make a wide détour, and repeat the performance in the rear of the troops, until they halt on the right of the line. At this moment the command to march is given, and the troops pass in review before the officers. You must understand that the whole parade, headed by the general, makes a circuit around the little cluster of horsemen, and then, before setting out to mount guard, range themselves again on the ground from which they started, a march which occupies at least three-quarters of an hour. How sad, that troops of such excellence, and so much zeal, should be so little spared and so badly led! But everything here combines to inspire disgust. At the smallest sign from you I shall return home.

"I have never mentioned the subject of my pay, because I know nothing about it. I have not received anything. I cannot say whether it amounts to a hundred and fifty or to

two hundred dollars a month, or more, but it ought to run from last July. The sum looks large, but horses are excessively dear at this place, and all necessaries so much above the ordinary price, that the best I can hope for will be to escape a loss. I am the only general who practises economy, and restricts his table to what is most needed. Nevertheless, at the last camp I had to pay my purveyor of milk and butter two hundred and forty-two francs for the consumption of two weeks. Besides, the pay is made in paper money, on which there is a loss of four hundred per cent. in exchanging it for silver. No one, therefore, ought to serve from interested motives. On the other hand, the expenditures for provisions and other necessaries for the army must be enormous. I draw forage for two four-horse baggage wagons, besides which three horses, raised in the country, have been furnished for my servants. I receive twenty-four daily rations or thirty-six pounds of meat, twenty-four pounds of bread or flour, a considerable quantity of rum, candles, bacon, salt, soap, etc. The storehouses are well filled, and we are at liberty to take from them what we please. The war fund pays a good many bills that could not well be made public. I have no doubt that the contractors make fifty per cent. on every contract, not to speak of the other defraudations, the mere enumeration of which would be endless."

As a finishing touch to this very unattractive picture of American camp life, we subjoin Kalb's remarks, in his regular correspondence with his wife, about his own compatriots and late friends and companions. "On the whole," he writes on the 5th of January, 1778, "I have annoyances to bear, of which you can hardly form a conception. One of them is the mutual jealousy of almost all the French officers, particularly

against those of higher rank than the rest. The people think of nothing but their incessant intrigues and backbitings. They hate each other like the bitterest enemies, and endeavor to injure each other wherever an opportunity offers. I have given up their society, and very seldom see them. Lafayette is the sole exception; I always meet him with the same cordiality and the same pleasure. He is an excellent young man, and we are good friends. It were to be wished that all the Frenchmen who serve here were as reasonable as he and I. Lafayette is much liked; he is on the best of terms with Washington; both of them have every reason to be satisfied with me also."

Another letter, written January 7, 1778, at Valley Forge, to President Henry Laurens,[46] shows a better insight into Washington's difficult position. "What can I say," Kalb writes, "about our doings, or rather doing nothing during the fall? Have we ever been able to undertake anything against the enemy? Have we not been lying often in the open field, without tents, under arms for many hours together, and in very severe weather, too; with an army almost naked and barefoot, worn out by fatigue (partly by necessity and the ordinary hardships of the field, but as much so, I dare say, by the ignorance of some of the leading officers, in keeping the men under arms longer than would be required), and constantly inferior to the enemy in number, even after the reënforcement from the Northern army. To whose door this defect of numbers must be laid I am at a loss to tell, being unacquainted with the methods employed or prescribed for recruiting; 'tis most improbable that the commander can be faulty in this point, it being always a general's interest to have a strong army. He has, no doubt,

regularly given to Congress exact returns, to show them his weakness. I cannot but observe, in justice to General Washington, that he must be a very modest man, and the greatest friend to the cause, for forbearing public complaints on that account, that the enemy may not be apprised of our situation and take advantage of it. He will rather suffer in the opinion of the world than hurt his country, in making appear how far he is from having so considerable an army as all Europe and great part of America believe he has. This would show, at the same time, he did and does more every day than could be expected from any general in the world, in the same circumstances, and that I think him the only proper person (nobody actually being or serving in America excepted), by his natural and acquired capacity, his bravery, good sense, uprightness and honesty, to keep up the spirits of the army and people, and that I look upon him as the sole defender of his country's cause. Thus much I thought myself obliged to say on that head. I only could wish in my private opinion he would take more upon himself, and trust more to his own excellent judgment than to councils, but this leads me out of my way." *

Under these circumstances Kalb was little pleased with his new sphere of action, and felt himself ill at ease in Valley Forge. Almost every letter to his wife winds up with the expression of a wish, or with a definite plan for his immediate return home. At one moment a threatened European collision, which subsequently collapsed into the war of the Bavarian succession, fills him with a desire of returning to the well-tried flag of de Broglie, to seek on the battle-fields of Germany the distinction which seemed to elude his

* Copied verbatim.

grasp in America; at another time he would like to be accredited as envoy from France to Congress, or if that vacancy should be already filled, to go in the same capacity to Geneva, where his religious confession would not be a hindrance to him; again he paints in the most vivid colors the delights of an idyllic retirement in the bosom of his family; finally, he postpones his departure. Amid these hopes and longings day after day goes by, until at length he abandons his plan, being absorbed in the claims of the passing moment.

CHAPTER VIII.

Sentiments of the American General at Valley Forge.—Intrigues against Washington.—Gates and Conway, the Conway Cabal.—Winter Campaign to Canada.—Reasons Therefor.—Lafayette Selected for the Command in Chief.—He Demands and Receives Kalb as a Colleague.—Plan of the Expedition.—Kalb Goes to Albany.—Want of Preparations of all Kinds.—Kalb Advises an Immediate Return.—His Disagreeable Conflicts with Conway.—The Complaints and Falsehoods of the Latter.—Letter of Robert Troup.—Acrimony of the Clique.—Lafayette's Letter to Washington.—Kalb Returns to Headquarters.—Celebration in Honor of the French Alliance.—Kalb's Joy.—Description of the Festivities.—Council of War.—Swearing the Troops.—Kalb Swears the Oath of Fidelity, and, for the present, Renounces the Idea of Returning.—Falls Dangerously Ill.—After his Recovery, he Goes to Headquarters at White Plains.—Projected Attempt upon New York.—Kalb Reckons upon the Evacuation of the Country by the English.—His Camp at Fishkill.—Inactivity during the Summer of 1778.—Kalb's Longing for Home.—Parting with Lafayette.—Kalb Consults with Washington Relative to the Plan for Winter-quarters.—Hardships and Privations.—Visit at West Point.—Camp at Middlebrook.—Sufferings Incident to the Stay there.—Inordinate Prices of Provisions.—Absence of a Fraternal Spirit Among the Officers, especially the French.—Kalb's Visit at Philadelphia.—Return to Camp.—Kalb Desires to Become the French Envoy to the United States.—Letter from the Comte de Broglie to Kalb.—The Latter Advances to the Hudson with his Division the 2d of June, 1779.—Washington's Intentions.

At the time of which we are now speaking the American generals and statesmen were by no means united in that spirit of cordial harmony and patriotic devotion to the welfare of an imperilled country, which, in consequence

of distortions, intended or unintentional, of the truth of his tory, is so frequently ascribed to them. The American army formed no exception to the universal rule governing all newly-raised levies of this description; it had its full share of that petty envy, those fierce dissensions and jealousies, those intrigues and cliques, which inevitably grow out of the friction of heterogeneous interests and the clash of ambitious aspirations. History, of course, takes note only of the discords which invaded the higher circles, and here again the the commander-in-chief was naturally the object of the most violent and vindictive assaults.

To arrive at a correct estimate of these transactions it must be borne in mind that, at Valley Forge, Washington's reputation, however quickly it has since established itself, was by no means such as to point to him as the only and indispensable man for the times. In the first place, the result of the last battles was unfavorable, and the result is the criterion for the unthinking masses; again, some errors in strategy had been undoubtedly committed, and were, of course, exaggerated by his opponents into proofs of incapacity. Some, like Lee, Gates, and Conway, saw in him a stumbling-block in the path of their own ambition; others, like Lovell and Adams, thought him too slow, and still others saw inevitable ruin in the course of things under his direction. His adversaries numbered in their ranks patriots and men of the purest and most disinterested intentions; but the ringleaders of the period now engaging our attention were actuated by sinister motives, and the chief among them were Gates and Conway. The former was fairly intoxicated with the splendor of his victory over Burgoyne, largely brought about, as it had been, by the previous dispositions of Wash-

ington and Schuyler, and occupied, even in the eyes of a strong party in Congress, the position of the expected deliverer from bondage. The latter, a born intriguer, felt that Washington understood him well, and therefore hoped to make his way by clinging to the skirts of Gates. As we have already seen, he managed to obtain the rank of major-general, and the post of inspector-general of the army, in December, 1777, in the teeth of Washington's well-founded objections.

The object of the cabal which is known by Conway's name was none other than to undermine Washington's reputation with the army and in Congress, and to supplant him in the command by General Gates. The latter had just received from Congress the position of President of the Board of War, which gave him the supreme direction of military affairs. The cabal, the earliest symptoms of which have been traced as far back as November, 1777, matured in the camp at Valley Forge, but was defeated, in January, 1778, by the indiscretion of Colonel Wilkinson and the tact and dignity of Washington. Since then, Gates contented himself with opposing Washington indirectly whenever he could. Thus, at the end of January, 1778, he induced Congress, without communicating with the commander-in-chief or asking his opinion, to decide upon a winter campaign into Canada, under the lead of Lafayette and Conway. The plan was well conceived. In view of the nationality of the Canadians, and of their natural relations to France, the success of the American arms was far more probable under the direction of those who were Frenchmen by birth and French officers by education, than under the management of Americans, unacquainted even with the language of the country. But under this smooth

exterior lurked the design of gaining over Lafayette, and with him, if possible, all the French officers, to the interests of Gates and Conway. The young marquis could not have been more effectually conciliated. Vain and greedy of applause, he longed for an opportunity of distinction. The expedition to Canada, invested with a certain romantic halo from the adventurous march of Arnold and the heroic death of Montgomery, two years before, promised a more than ordinary crop of honors. He was especially delighted at the idea of expelling the tyrannical and natural enemies of his country, "the English, out of the lands they have taken from us (the French), and of imparting to the Canadians a share of the liberties of the thirteen States. How happy I would be," Lafayette continues, "had I the satisfaction of being an instrument of such a revolution. My love for the freedom of mankind in general, and, in this particular instance, my consanguinity with the Canadians and the name of Frenchman I am honored with, will be sufficient proofs. If I had believed that I am not sent for doing good and right to the Canadians, then I should not have hesitated an instant to decline this commission; but as I am fully convinced that I would promote their happiness as well as the advantage of the United States, I shall undertake it with the greatest cheerfulness, if those measures are taken which I think proper to succeed."[57] Nevertheless he marred the plot of the clique, as a man of a high sense of honor, and of a devotion to Washington far greater than the adversaries of the latter had imagined. It was only upon consultation with, and under the sanction of, the commander-in-chief, that Lafayette accepted the command, and then on the express conditions that Kalb, and not Conway, should be his associate.

"I had desired McDougall," Lafayette continues in his above-quoted letter of January 31, 1778, to Congress;* "not that I am very intimately acquainted with him, but by the knowledge I have of his rigid and imperturbable virtue. The state of his health would not permit his going now in so cold a country. But there is the Baron de Kalb, who has seen more wars than any other officer in the continent, who came over with me, who, if I was to point out any of the general officers who are to be in that expedition, had an indubitable right to my mentioning his name. He desires to come with me; he will be much more useful to America if he is employed there. I take the liberty of recommending him in the most strongest terms, not at all because there where are more than two brigadiers—it seems there should be two major-generals—but because I think very firmly that, for the good of the service and the success of the enterprise, it is of the highest importance and of an absolute necessity." Congress yielded this point, so that Conway, being junior to Kalb, was indirectly shelved.

According to the plan marked out by Gates himself,** the expedition was to consist of 2,500 men, to rendezvous at Bennington, and to march over the ice of Lake Champlain, upon St. Johns and Montreal. Arriving at one of these points, Lafayette was directed to acquaint the Canadians with his intentions, and to invite them to enter the Union army. In case public sentiment should not manifest itself unequivocally in favor of the Union, Lafayette was to call upon the people of Canada to observe a strict neutrality. If, however, he should encounter an unexpected resistance, or general disaffection, he was to destroy all the wharves and vessels at St.

* Literal copy.

Johns, Chamblee, and the Isle aux Noix, and to retreat by the most available route to Saratoga and the advanced ports on Wood Creek and Hudson River. But in case the Canadians should be filled with a desire to assist at the establishment of American liberty and independence, it would become Lafayette's especial duty, not only to solicit their adherence to the United States, and to send delegates to Congress, but also to call upon him to accept the paper money issued by him. If he should penetrate to Montreal, the capture of which was the main purpose of the expedition, he was to possess himself of all the arms and munitions of war. Lafayette quitted the camp on the 7th of February, 1778, followed by Kalb on the 16th of the same month. His route lay through Pennsylvania and New York over ice and snow, or impassable roads, over which he travelled alternately on horseback or by sleigh, so that it was not before the 24th of the month that he reached Albany. Here Kalb was rewarded for the hardships of the journey by excellent quarters. Little as he usually heeded such matters, he yet records with great satisfaction on this occasion, that in Albany he slept without his clothes, for the first time since the 14th of October, the day of his arrival in camp.

It was but too soon apparent that the entire expedition had been inaugurated without a proper calculation of the resources at command. Conway, who, at the instigation of his friend Gates, reached Albany even before Lafayette, and was to hand him his instructions, had scarcely arrived before he declared the march to Canada an impossibility. Generals Schuyler, Lincoln, and Arnold, well acquainted with the country, and with the spirit of their own people as well as with that of the Canadians, were of the same opinion; and if Lafay-

ette at first clung fondly to the hope of overcoming all obstacles, Kalb had been on the spot but a few days, when he was convinced of the impracticability of the undertaking. Instead of the 2,500 men which had been promised, they found, at Albany, Schenectady, Johnston, and the neighboring towns, scarcely 1,200 soldiers, suffering for want of indispensable necessaries, and insufficiently clothed and equipped even for a summer campaign. General Stark, who, as Gates had boasted, would probably have burned the English flotilla even before Lafayette's arrival, had not a single man under his orders, and began by asking Lafayette how many troops he wanted, and for what period he wished them to be raised.[60] There was on all hands a lack of money, supplies, men, and even good will, so that with the utmost exertions of Kalb and Lafayette too much time indispensably needed for the march itself would have been consumed in preparation.

Under these circumstances Kalb advocated an immediate return to camp; but the month of March passed away before he and Lafayette could set out on their journey. Besides the considerations which grew out of the merits of the case, Kalb had personal reasons for disliking the enterprise. His position, in consequence of the course pursued by Conway, was extremely disagreeable. The latter reiterated his former grievances, complained of being placed under the orders of one who had been his subordinate in France, and asked to be recalled, or transferred to Rhode Island. We have seen above what was the true state of the case in reference to his alleged seniority in the French army. But what especially stamps Conway's remonstrances as emanations of mere personal intrigue or mortification, is the circumstance that he had no objections to make to Lafayette's command-in-chief, though

that nobleman had been but a lieutenant in France, and therefore a great deal further beneath him in dignity. The true motive must lie beneath the surface. Lafayette was not to be assailed, because Gates himself desired, by so flattering an expression of confidence as was involved in giving him the chief command, to draw him over to his side, and then, through Conway's influence, to attach him to the interests of the clique. But by making Kalb the adviser of Lafayette and the virtual military director of the enterprise, to which the marquis merely lent his name, all the brilliant projects of the conspirators for the seduction of the foreign officers were dispelled. This circumstance explains the bitterness which runs through the letters of Conway and his friends.

"I hear that General Kalb," writes Conway to Gates, from Albany, February 24, 1778,[61] "is coming to this place; he is my inferior in France, and it would be disagreeable for me to find myself under his orders; besides I do not think that there is any occasion for three major-generals to command the few troops in this quarter. I wish you would let me know the intentions of Congress concerning me, whether I am to serve here or with General Putnam or on Rhode Island.

"General de Kalb," Conway continues on February 25, "is just now arrived. I am sure he was not sent by you, but by Marquis de Lafayette. I could understand that he was induced to call for Baron de Kalb because the people whom you guess and whom I do not choose to blame, expected that Baron de Kalb's arrival here would give me a disgust. In this they have guessed very right; however, I solemnly declare that I am ready to serve this cause to which I have devoted myself in any part of the continent where I will be thought useful."

While Conway confines himself to covert allusions, Robert Troup, his friend, and Gates' aid, is far more explicit. "General Conway," writes Troup to his general, "is sorry that Baron de Kalb has been thought of for reasons, I dare say, you are acquainted with. The baron was of inferior rank to him in France, and he would injure himself in the eye of that nation if he were to serve under him in America. I confess this reason has much weight with me, and I am convinced you will not deem it improper.

"But what is of more consequence, is the service General Conway has rendered this country since his arrival in America. I will forbear repeating the many parts of his history which stamp his character as a man of military abilities, valor, and attachment to the States. What can we say of Baron Kalb? He never distinguished himself in any action with our army. He has never proved himself, in my opinion, a man of extraordinary talents. Why, then, should he be preferred to Conway?

"I only suggest these hints to show you the impropriety of sending Kalb to the northward. I am convinced General Conway will never be commanded by him, and a dispute in Canada, about rank, would be attended, in all probability, with insuperable difficulties.

"I wish, therefore, some mode could be adopted to prevent the mutiny of these two gentlemen. I would rather lose a dozen Kalbs than one Conway. You may rest assured that I shall endeavor to promote friendship and good understanding between the several officers who are to be employed in this expedition.

"Upon my arrival in Albany I shall speak to the quartermaster and commissary, and spur them on in the execution of their duty.

"General Conway believes that the cabal at headquarters want the marquis to take Kalb in order to prevent his doing anything that won't contribute to his own honor or the interest of the States."

It is interesting to see that the clique of Gates and Conway, judging the commander-in-chief by their own base standard, took for granted that Washington and his friends were engaged in a cabal which really had no existence; as matters stood, however, it is certainly fortunate that the march to Canada was not attempted, because even the slighest bickerings brought on by Conway, would have been attended by the most disastrous consequences. Congress themselves were at length convinced that the plan was not feasible, and renounced it by a formal resolution, directing Washington to recall Kalb and Lafayette to headquarters, as their presence was indispensably required there.

"How happy I have been," writes Lafayette from Albany, March 25, 1778, to Washington, "in receiving your Excellency's favor of the 10th present. I hope you will be convinced by the knowledge of my tender affection for you. I am very sensible of that goodness which tries to dissipate my fears about that ridiculous Canadian expedition. At the present time we know which was the aim of the honorable Board, and for which project three or four men have rushed the country into a great expense, and risked the reputation of our army, and the loss of many hundred men, had the general, your deceived friend, been as rash and foolish as they seem to have expected. O American freedom! what shall become of you if you are in such hands?

"I have received a letter from the Board, and a resolve of Congress, by which you are directed to recall me and the

Baron de Kalb, whose presence is deemed absolutely necessary to your army. I believe that of General Conway is *absolutely necessary* to Albany, and he has received orders to stay there, which I have no objection to, as nothing perhaps will be done in this quarter but some disputes of Indians and Tories. However, you know, I have wrote to Congress, and as soon as this leave will come, I shall let Conway have the command of these few regiments, and I shall immediately join my respectable friend; but till I have received instructions for leaving this place from yourself, I shall stay, as powerful commander-in-chief, as if Congress had never resolved my presence absolutely necessary for the great army."

Washington's directions, to the same effect, anticipated Lafayette's despatch, and reached Albany the day after the departure of the latter. Lafayette and Kalb immediately set out on their return. The latter left the 29th of March, rode down the Hudson to New Windsor, and then struck a westward course through the States of New York and Pennsylvania, to Lancaster, where he arrived early in April, and enjoyed some weeks of repose before returning to the army at Valley Forge.

His return to headquarters was immediately followed by news of the defensive and offensive alliance concluded between France and the United States, on the 6th of February, 1778.

The commander-in-chief assigned the 6th of May for the solemn celebration of an event so important and so joyful to this country. In consequence of Steuben's unwearied labors the army was able to execute a grand manœuvre, on which occasion it was commanded by Kalb in the centre, while Lord Stirling led the right and Lafayette the left wing."

But let us hear Kalb's own account of the day's festivities, and of the events thereby commemorated.

"The alliance," he writes to his wife on the 12th of May 1778, "is, on the part of the King of France, so rational, and so generous beyond all expectation, that it has won him the hearts even of those who loved him but little before. At the same time, it may be said that this act of magnanimity is none the less a movement of the most subtle policy, which, quite apart from the glory reflected upon the king and his ministers, will prove of infinite commercial advantage to the French people. No means could have been better adapted to bruise the colossal power of England, and to snatch this great country forever from its allegiance. The treaty reflects the highest credit on M. Gérard, who was intrusted with its negotiation. His name will be inscribed upon the annals of this new empire by the side of Louis XVI., as the interpreter of the high-hearted sentiments of that noble monarch, to whom this immense continent owes its liberty and happiness.

"The solemnities were opened with divine worship at the head of each brigade. Then followed three volleys of artillery, each of thirteen guns, and each succeeded by a round of cheers, of which the first was in honor of the King of France, the second in honor of the European powers friendly to America, and the third in honor of the United States. The commander-in-chief gave a grand banquet in the camp. Fifteen hundred persons sat down to the tables, which were spread in the open air. All the officers with their ladies, and the prominent people of the neighborhood, were invited. Wine, meats, and liquors abounded, and happiness and contentment were impressed on every countenance. Number-

less hurrahs were given for the King of France, and the French officers had no small share in the honors of the occasion. It was a fine day for us, and a great one for General Washington. Let me say that no one could be more worthy of this good fortune. His integrity, humanity, and love for the just cause of his country, as well as his other virtues, receive and merit the veneration of all men. A French soldier had been condemned to death by a court-martial just before the festival. The marquis and I sued for pardon to the guilty. The commanding general answered that on a day dedicated to the gratitude owing by America to the King of France, he could not refuse French officers a boon, and availed himself of the opportunity to pardon all other criminals at the same time."

The French alliance was a stimulus to the spirit of the soldiers no less than to that of the officers. In consequence of it a council of war, convened on the 8th of May, 1778, was attended by Generals Greene, Gates, Lord Stirling, Mifflin, Lafayette, Steuben, Armstrong, and Kalb. It was called upon by the commander-in-chief to decide the question "what measures ought to be adopted, and, particularly, whether a movement on Philadelphia was then advisable? As the objections and obstacles which had weighed in opposition to offensive operations the preceding November, were still in full force, it was unanimously resolved to await the further development of events, which, in effect, induced the English to evacuate Philadelphia of their own accord a few weeks after.

Until that time the American troops remained quiet in their camp at Valley Forge. The independence of the United States being now assured by the French alliance, the

oath of allegiance was once more exacted, and was administered by Kalb to the brigadiers Glover and Larned. He was himself sworn on the 12th of May, 1778;" a proof that at that time he had renounced all idea of a speedy return to France.

Such was the fact. "But for the late treaty," he writes to his wife on the 25th of May, 1778, "I should have returned to you ere this. Now I cannot and will not do it for various reasons, two of which I shall here specify. In the first place, war between England and France having become inevitable, should I fall into the hands of the English while at sea, my treatment would be that of a French prisoner of war, possibly without a claim to being exchanged, inasmuch as I should have left America without authority from my own Government. In the second place, the alliance with the United States retransforms me from an officer on two years' furlough into a general of the French army with the same, if not a better title to promotion than if I had never quitted France. Henceforward, therefore, I shall only return by the express command of the minister."

In the succeeding events of the war, the evacuation of the camp at Valley Forge, the entry of the American army into Philadelphia, and Washington's march through New Jersey, Kalb did not participate, as he was seized, in the beginning of May, with a violent fever, which brought him to the verge of the grave, and confined him to his room until the middle of July. The latter stages of the disease were passed at Philadelphia, which the English had by this time evacuated, and where a fellow-German, Dr. Phyle (Pfeil), who subsequently became his intimate friend, tenderly nursed and cared for him. After his recovery Kalb went to the headquarters

at White Plains, twenty-five miles north of New York City, and resumed the command of his division. It was Washington's intention to shut in the English in New York on the land side, while the French fleet under d'Estaing, which had just arrived, was to attack this important base of the hostile operations from the rear, and, by the combined operation of the two forces, to oblige the English army to surrender. The plan remained unexecuted, however, because the pilots gave it as their opinion that the depth of water in New York Bay was not sufficient to allow the larger vessels of the French squadron to manœuvre against an enemy. D'Estaing therefore, in pursuance of an understanding with Washington, sailed for Rhode Island, in order to retake that island, which had become highly important in consequence of the fortifications erected by the English; an enterprise also thwarted by the concurrence of a number of unfavorable circumstances.

Kalb reckoned firmly on the triumph of the Franco-American arms, and confidently expected that, by a series of energetic and well-concerted measures, the English would not only be worsted, but compelled to evacuate the American continent. As in that event, which for a time he regarded as a foregone conclusion, there would have been nothing left for him to do in this country, he requested his wife, in writing to her from White Plains on the 14th of August, 1778, to apply to his old commander the Duc de Broglie, for a position under him, in case he should take the chief command of the French army at the breaking out of a general European war, then universally expected.

But the course of events was otherwise. Neither did a general war break out in Europe, nor was America destined

to be so soon delivered from her enemies. The English, for the present, maintained all their positions, and Washington could do nothing more than to observe them. During all the month of August Kalb was with the main army at White Plains, whence they decamped only on the 16th of September, 1778, to occupy a height on Fishkill, near the Hudson, where our hero remained, with a few short interruptions, until the end of November. The camp of his division was distant eleven miles and a half from the Fishkill, and extended along the road leading thence to Sharon and Boston, while covered by Fish Creek in front. Round about was excellent pasture for horses.[67] As the two armies lay opposite each other in entire inaction, the petty war of outposts or against marauders and robbers, was extremely wearisome and exhausting, without affording the slightest satisfaction to the military spirit of the higher grade of officers. Under these circumstances Kalb would gladly have accompanied his young friend Lafayette, who went to Paris to spend the winter, which promised to pass away in inaction, and that only the express desire of the Comte de Broglie kept him with the army. "No one," he writes to his wife from Fishkill the 7th of October, 1778, "has better reason, and a more ardent wish than I to behold his family once more, and no one makes greater sacrifices to manifest his devotion and fortitude in the king's service. Since France has interfered in the war, the subjugation of the continent by the English is out of the question. Possibly they will even surrender Rhode Island, New York, Long Island, and Staten Island, to defend their own country and their remaining colonies. At all events there will be no more movements of importance. I therefore regard the war as ended, so far as I am concerned, having no disposition to do battle

against the savages on the frontier. As often as a Frenchman returns home, my heart is ready to burst with homesickness. I am very tired of the war here, and would have been but too glad to go to Paris with Lafayette. Receive him kindly and courteously, and thank him for the numerous proofs of regard he has extended to me since the beginning of our friendship. I shall thank him as long as I live, and value and esteem him most highly."

Lafayette himself did not set out so soon as he had intended. He fell dangerously ill about the middle of the month, and spent several days with Kalb as a convalescent about the middle of November, before taking leave of him, on the twenty-third, to set sail for Boston. The two friends were not to meet again.

On the 12th of October Kalb entered upon a new camp near New Hackensack, about fourteen miles northeast of the Fishkill, because he found the fodder for his horses better and more plentiful. His division was distant about twenty-four miles from Washington's headquarters. The latter, dreading an attack of the English upon the positions of the American army in the Highlands, ordered Kalb, on the 24th of October, to retire again to Fishkill, in order to be nearer to the supporting points of the army, and the intrenchments on the Hudson, in case of a hostile movement. The preparations and embarcations of the enemy were this time, however, intended for southern points, and not for the force on the Hudson. "This morning," he writes on the 25th of October, "I am about to ride to headquarters, at the invitation of the commander-in-chief, to discuss the plan for our next winter-quarters. A good sign. I do not yet know where and what they will be. If the English do not quit their positions, we shall

most likely be compelled once more to build shanties, as we did last winter, and to hold out in them. It is not yet known here what they will do. I have been of opinion ever since last May, that they will leave the United States entirely before the winter sets in." However, the enemy did not change his position, and Kalb was consigned to four additional weeks of inaction in his old camp at Fishkill.

"For some days we have been in the midst of winter," he writes on the 24th of November from Newburg on the Hudson;[69] "it is snowing fast, and it is by no means agreeable to sleep out of doors, even under tents. The service is severe, and the weather is raw. Yesterday, when it was very cold, I crossed the Hudson with my division, and shall remain in Newburg until the arrival of the prisoners of Burgoyne's army, on their march from New England to Virginia. I have orders to throw out six detachments to conduct them to the Delaware, and then to go into the same sort of winter-quarters in the woods and mountains of New Jersey, as we occupied last winter in Pennsylvania." "Yesterday," he continues on the 29th of November, writing from his camp at Smith Cove, fourteen miles from Newburg, "I went to West Point on foot, being anxious to see it before quitting the Hudson forever. The weather was splendid, but the road contemptible. I had to choose between clambering over the rocks and wading in the morass, or going up to my knees in the water. I returned the same evening, having made twenty-eight English miles in all, and was obliged to change my guides, as those who set out with me were too much fatigued to go back. Never in my life have I made so fatiguing a jaunt; I hardly felt my feet at last; but, while I certainly would not repeat the excursion, I am very glad to have seen the beautiful West Point."

The commander-in-chief, whose corps embraced Kalb's division, which consisted of the Maryland and Delaware brigades, reached Middlebrook in New Jersey on the 11th of December, and there went into winter-quarters, whither Kalb had marched from Smith Cove on the 4th of the same month. The American army now extended in the form of a crescent from Danbury in Connecticut to the Hudson at West Point, and thence, by way of Elizabethtown, to Middlebrook. The best possible protection of the country, the maintenance of the important military positions in the Highlands, the security and discipline of the troops, and the cheap and convenient procurement of supplies, were the leading objects of this selection.[70]

Kalb remained at Middlebrook until the end of February, without interruption, and without being greatly edified by the monotony of camp life. It was not alone the compulsory idleness, so repugnant to his disposition, but also the enormous expense of the sojourn, and the absence of all sort of congenial fellowship, which embittered his long winter evenings. "I had resolved, as you know," he writes to his wife about this time, "not, under any circumstances, to consume any part of my private property while serving in America. I find it flatly impossible to adhere to this purpose. Everything is excessively dear at this place. Although I have expended nothing for clothes or linen, my pay is not sufficient to requite my servants and procure the eatables not furnished by Congress, such as coffee, tea, butter, sugar, and milk. From the army stores we draw our meat, candles, bread, barley, soap, etc. The consumption of meat is almost incredible. It is impossible to habituate the people of this country to anything like order or regularity of living,

and equally impossible for one who has grown up in the midst of order, discipline, and punctuality, to accustom himself to the indolence of these people. Beside my three adjutants and the officer of the guard, ten servants and a number of mounted orderlies daily eat at my table. Horses are a still more expensive article. Congress supplies me with eight team-horses, but the generals purchase their own saddle-horses, which are excessively dear. In spite of the greatest economy, I am therefore spending enormous sums of money. Although the prices of all necessaries have increased nearly a hundredfold since my arrival in America, I consider it beneath my dignity to apply to the States for a subsidy. I might prefer the request to the king, but fear the effect of such a step on my promotion. These annoyances are aggravated by the mortifications growing out of the differences in manners and customs between Americans and Europeans, and the jealousy of the native against the foreign officers. Scarce one of the latter is contented with his position. There is not a second lieutenant who, on coming here, does not expect to be better treated than all the rest of his countrymen. I studiously avoid entangling myself in these petty bickerings, but it it is sufficiently disgusting to be told of them. It is all I can do to preserve the peace in my own military family." "I wish you and all of you," thus Kalb concludes his New Year's salutation to his wife, on the 1st of January, 1779, "health, contentment, and happiness for the coming year; for myself, if circumstances permit, I wish a happy return to your midst. I could discourse a long time on this topic, for you know, better than any one else, what a sacrifice I make in this long absence from you and the children, as I might live at home more

happily and peaceably than any other man The privations to which I am subjected, the extraordinary exertions incident to the mode of warfare and to the variable climate of this country, the frequent movements from camp to camp, which makes rest and comfort unattainable even in winter, all these hardships are onerous to a man at my time of life, and make me extremely anxious to return. I have no just cause of complaint, because I have come of my own free will. I hope, however, that the king and his ministers will give me great credit for having remained here in deference to their wishes, exposed to every vicissitude, while the great majority of the French officers have returned home. I place my trust in Providence that I shall be spared to behold again the object of my most ardent love, and all that can tend to make me happy and contented for the rest of my days. For the present I must request an extension of my two years' furlough, which has nearly expired; there will be no difficulty if you will only apply to the Comte de Broglie."

To recruit his health and replenish his wardrobe, Kalb went to Philadelphia about the end of February, 1779, and remained there until the 30th of March, when he returned to the camp at Middlebrook. Here, and in Boundbrook, which is close by, he was stationed until the reopening of the campaign in the beginning of June. The life of the camp was more quiet and monotonous than ever. Kalb was in the habit of whiling away his leisure hours in making plans for the future. As Gérard, the French envoy, then contemplated returning home, Kalb thought of applying to become his successor, and repeatedly commissioned his wife to enlist the interposition of his friends with the minister. But the Chevalier de la Luzerne had been appointed before Gérard's

departure, so that Kalb was of course compelled to abandon the idea.

Before setting out for the Hudson he received the following letter from Paris, from the Comte de Broglie, the only answer vouchsafed to all his addresses to him. While it gave Kalb no assurance of promotion in France, it is evidence of the interest taken by the French ministers and generals in the progress of the American war, and as such may find a place here."[1]

"Mme. de Kalb," de Broglie writes on the 31st of March, 1778, "has forwarded me the letters with which you have honored me from time to time. The time for your operations in the field has arrived. We are in hopes, here, that the weakness of the English at the isolated points of the coast in their occupation, which they are compelled to expose on all sides, will justify the American troops in an effort to expel the enemy. It would seem, at all events, that they have it in their power to harass and enclose him, and to cut off or at least greatly impede his supplies and forage. I have not a moment's doubt that you will omit no opportunity of explaining to the leading men of the army and of Congress the views of what is judicious and practicable, which you are so well qualified to impart. Too much cannot be done to make them understand the advantage offered by their position, if they will make the efforts fairly to be expected of them.

"I need not go into details with you. At my proposal to the Prince de Montbarey, sanctioned by him, he permits you to use the cypher concerted between you and me. I believe you will receive instructions from that minister in relation to the plans to be adopted by Congress, or at least in

reference to that portion of those plans, the success of which your counsels can assure.

"I have personally discussed this matter with the Prince de Montbarey, my dear baron. The minister, who is extremely well-disposed to you, has promised me to include you in the list of brigadiers to be next appointed by him, without waiting for a general advancement. I have assured him of your gratitude, and doubt not that you will make every effort to give fresh proofs of your devotion to the king's service.

"As I have not kept the key to your cypher, be pleased, hereafter, to communicate, in it, directly to the Prince de Montbarey, what cannot well be written in the ordinary character. I heartily desire your entire good fortune; you know how deep an interest I take in your welfare."

That these promises were but idle words we shall see in the sequel. For the present we accompany our hero to the Hudson, whither he marched from Middlebrook with his division on the 3d of June, 1779,[72] to coöperate with the remaining divisions of Washington's army in preventing the advance of the enemy into the Highlands.*

* The Highlands is the name of the district of country extending along the Hudson from Cornwall to Haverstraw, so called on account of the mountains and crags here overhanging the water.

CHAPTER IX.

Clinton's Plans at the Opening of the Summer Campaign of 1779.—He Takes Verplank's Point and Stony Point on the Hudson.—Washington Baffles his Attempt on West Point.—Kalb's Division with the Main Army at Smith Cove.—His Letter to his Wife.—Dreary Prospects.—Both Armies Spend the Summer in Observing Each Other.—Laborious Service—Wayne Retakes Stony Point.—Importance of this Success to the American Army.—The Impressions it Produced on the Foreign Generals and Envoys.—Kalb's Delight at the Victory.—Camp in the Woods.—Cruelty of the English.—Their Raids into the Country.—Weight of Kalb's Testimony.—Dinner at Kalb's.—Celebration of the Taking of Stony Point.—A Beautiful Comparison from the Æneid.—Fleury's Gallantry.—Kalb Posted all Summer at Buttermilk Falls.—Strength of his Division.—Inactivity of Both Armies.—Privations.—Washington's Intended Attack upon New York Frustrated by D'Estaing,—Winter-quarters at Morristown New Jersey.—Severe Winter.—Unheard of Cold.—Camp Sufferings.—Scarcity of Money.—No Credit.—Depreciation of Paper Money.—Inaction Worse than a Severe Campaign.—Kalb's Account of the State of Things.—Rudeness of the Native to the Foreign Officers.—Smallwood Against Kalb.—Hostile Movements of the English from Staten Island.—Corps of Observation in New Jersey, first under St. Clair, then under Kalb, in March, 1780.—Fatigue Duty.—Kalb's Tactics at the Setting In of the Thaw.—Washington's Letter and Opposite Views.—Kalb Ordered Elsewhere on the 3d of April.—He is Destined for the South with his Division to the Relief of Charleston.

THE English General Clinton had resolved to open the campaign of 1779 with a brilliant *coup de main*, for which purpose he had marched up the Hudson from New York in the latter part of May, in order to fall into the rear

of the American army, posted in New Jersey, and to possess himself of the hostile forts erected in the Highlands, particularly West Point, as well as King's Ferry, the only remaining river communication between the Eastern and Western forts. This ferry was commanded by the projecting hills at the eastern and western landing, called Verplank's Point and Stony Point, on the former of which Fort Lafayette had been erected, while the latter had been at least partially fortified. Clinton, however, being master of the river and of its eastern bank, found little difficulty in reducing these important points which opened his way into the Highlands. It was done on the 1st and 2d of June, two days after his march from New York. He immediately ordered the intrenchments to be repaired and completed, and Stony Point to be strongly fortified.

Washington had correctly inferred from Clinton's preparations, that it was the design of the latter to separate and overwhelm the American forces, and to occupy West Point and the Highlands. For the defence of Verplank and Stony Point he was too late, as his army did not leave their winter-quarters at Middlebrook and Boundbrook before the day of Clinton's departure from New York. However, he baffled the further measures of the English commander by forced marches, by judicious dispositions of his troops along the Hudson, and by proper reënforcements sent to the corps immediately threatened. Before Clinton could advance upon West Point, McDougall, the commander of the fort, was strengthened, and the position of the main body of the Americans at New Windsor, close by West Point, and at Smith Cove, a mountain pass in the rear of Havestraw, so effectively supported that he could not risk an assault. He therefore returned to

New York, whence he entered upon a system of raids and forays into Connecticut.

Kalb, with his division, was with the main army at Smith Cove. "It would seem." he writes from that point to his wife, the 10th of June, 1779,[13] "that a severe and exhausting campaign is before us. If we remain here much longer, we shall be compelled by want of forage to send all our horses away from the camp. Had we but a fleet in the bay of New York, we could end the war at a blow by an attack on that city. As the enemy are compelled to devote almost all their attention to their islands, New York is left nearly undefended toward the sea. At this moment the British have but one line-of-battle ship of sixty-four guns between Rhode Island and New York, and but four frigates, the largest of which mounts only thirty-six guns. Four French sixty-fours and six frigates would command the entire coast, and take everything that is to be found in any of the ports occupied by the enemy. Mention these facts to the Comte de Broglie, or any one who takes an interest in the triumph of our arms."

As the French Government failed to improve this opportunity, while the Americans alone were too weak to avail themselves of it, the observing attitude of both armies continued unchanged until the middle of July. Kalb, disheartened by this endless delay and irksome inaction, would gladly have returned to France, had he not considered himself bound to serve in the American ranks by the known intention of his furlough. His repeated requests to be recalled and promoted in the French army were unnoticed, and for this reason alone he remained. "What I am doing here," he writes to his wife on the 15th of July from Smith Cove,[14] "is extremely disagreeable. Without my excellent constitution it would be

impossible to bear up long under this service. Yesterday I made the most wearisome trip of my life, visiting the posts and pickets of the army in the solitudes, woods, and mountains, clambering over the rocks, and picking my way in the most abominable roads. My horse having fallen lame, I had to make the whole distance on foot. I never suffered more from heat. On my return I had not a dry rag on me, and was so tired that I could not sleep. My temperate and simple habits greatly contribute to keep me in good health. My general health is very good, and I hardly notice the annoyances of camp life. Dry bread and water make my breakfast and supper; at dinner I take some meat. I drink nothing but water, never coffee, and rarely chocolate or tea, in order to avoid irritating my eyes, which are the more useful to me as my four aids, partly from ignorance and partly from laziness, leave the writing incident to the service unattended to. So I am compelled to do it all myself, while they cultivate their digestions. I have now no more earnest wish than soon to see you and the children again, and never to leave you more. If our separation is destined to be of any advantage to us, it is dearly paid for."

While Clinton ravaged Connecticut, Washington, not to be lured from his position in the Highlands, resolved to undertake the recovery of Verplank's Point and Stony Point, which had been strongly fortified by the English. He intrusted General Wayne with the execution of the plan against Stony Point, which, on the 15th of July, succeeded beyond all expectation. Important as was this success in its practical effects, as foiling Clinton's designs on the upper Hudson, its chief value consisted in the impulse it gave to the spirit and confidence of the people, and the proof it af-

forded that the American generals were not better fitted to make dispositions of their troops, than their officers and men were prompt and fearless in carrying them out. It was particularly the foreign generals and diplomatists who began, after this victory, to believe in the possibility of a successful issue of the war, achieved by the arms of the Americans themselves. Steuben, who had largely contributed to the result by introducing and enforcing the use of the bayonet in the Union army, pronounced the achievement one of the most brilliant of modern warfare; Gérard, the French ambassador, is convinced that it will greatly enhance the opinion of Europe on the military qualities of the Americans;[75] and Kalb, usually so calm and self-possessed, is lavish in praise of Wayne and Fleury, as well as of their soldiers. On the 18th of July, 1779, from his bivouac in Deane's woods, he writes to his wife at greater length about the taking of Stony Point, and the days preceding and following that exploit, than about any other episode of the war.

"We left Smith Cove," he says,[76] "on the 16th of July, in the afternoon, to march to this spot over roads hardly passable for goats, carrying our provisions with us. We are now seven miles from our camp and five miles from Fort Montgomery on the Hudson, in the midst of the forest, and surrounded by crags. We have kept in bivouac for two nights, which were pretty cool, while the days are very hot. I live on cold meat, and lie at night upon a cloak stuffed with leaves. I expected orders to advance upon Fort Montgomery, to cross the river at that point, and form a junction with the other troops of the right wing, which are posted above and below me. It seemed to me probable that a movement was contemplated against the hostile posts on the left bank

at King's Ferry, Stony Point, on the right bank, having been carried in the night from the 15th to the 16th of July, and the garrison taken prisoner. This Stony Point is at King's Ferry, ten miles south of this place, and fifty miles above New York. General Clinton, having left a garrison at that post, was amusing himself in the Sound and in Connecticut, plundering, burning, and ravaging. Fairfield, Bedford, Norwalk, New Haven, and West Haven have already felt his rage. The mode of warfare here practised is the most barbarous that could be conceived; whatever the enemy cannot carry off in their forays, is destroyed or burned. They cannot possibly triumph in the end. Their cruelty and inhumanity must sooner or later draw down upon their heads the vengeance of heaven, and blast a Government which authorizes these outrages. In fact, this conduct seems to be the consequence or the effect of threats uttered by the peace commissioners who were sent hither last year. Finding their overtures rejected, they declared that as America was disposed to adhere to its alliance with England's natural enemy, the war would thenceforth be so conducted as to leave the country of little value to France. It were to be wished that France would retaliate by some expedition sent to burn the towns and villages on the English coast, as it is the league with us which saddles these depredations on the Americans."

It has become customary, in modern times, on the part of English writers especially, to represent these acts of barbarity as trivial, or as commanded by considerations of policy; and modern historians habitually regard the complaints and imprecations of the Americans, as exaggerations emanating from those who have been specially unfortunate. Kalb's indignation at the outrages perpetrated by the Eng-

lish on their expeditions of plunder and devastation, is the best proof that the acts of rapine far exceeded the average of what was required or tolerated by the warfare of the times. A French officer, who had assisted at the invasion of Germany under Richelieu and Soubise in the Seven Years' War, had enjoyed opportunities of witnessing the almost proverbial impositions and exactions of the French army, and was of all men the least likely to be squeamish in such matters, so that the ordinary grade of destruction would hardly have attracted his attention. How far, then, must the brutalities of the English have gone, if even Kalb grows sentimental in reciting them, and invokes the wrath of heaven upon their heads.

"Yesterday," continues the same letter, "I was reconnoitring all day in the vicinity of my post, of course on foot; I must repeat the same operation forthwith, in order to be familiar with my position by dinner-time." "Though very tired, I have already returned from my excursion," he continues at four o'clock of the same day, "and have just dined. The staff officers of my division were my guests. We were all very hungry, and did full justice to the mutton and beef which constituted the repast; large round crackers served as plates, in the absence of any kind of crockery. The scene forcibly reminded me of the conquest of Italy by Æneas, and of the words of Ascanius, when they had reached the future site of Rome. There, too, hunger impelled them to devour the cakes upon which their food had been set before them, and recalled the oracle of the harpies, that they would not reach the end of their wanderings and toils, nor call Italy theirs, until they would have eaten their tables with their meals. I have, unfortunately, no Ascanius with me,

but I desire most ardently that my fate may be decided as was that of Æneas, that the independence of America, like the conquest of Italy, may now be realized, and that, after we, too, have eaten our tables, the close of our warfare and our toils may be likewise approaching."

"While we were still at table, a letter came from General Washington, dated the 16th of July from his headquarters at New Windsor, in which I receive my share of compliments for the valor and good conduct of our troops, for my division was also represented at the assault on Stony Point of the previous evening. The letter put our whole company into excellent humor, though of course we had been longer and better acquainted with all the details of the successful *coup de main* than the General himself. I drank no rum as the others did, yet I was carried away by the same enthusiasm. I called Mr. Jacob, and told him to bring me a bottle of champagne. He stared at me in astonishment, saying he had none. Then there must be some port wine at least? "That is on the baggage wagons," answered Jacob. I apologized for my defective memory, and was sorry to have tantalized the company with delusive hopes; but they were satisfied to take my good will for the deed. I promised all my guests to give them the best of champagne at Paris, and shall be delighted to keep my word.

"The taking of Stony Point forms an epoch in the history of the war of American Independence, because it was on this occasion that our troops first ventured to attack the intrenchments of the enemy, and because they displayed great bravery in doing so. The action lasted only twenty-five minutes. A hundred or a hundred and twenty of the British were killed or wounded, while we had thirty killed and sixty wounded. I

mean to tell the truth, in spite of what the newspapers will say about our losses, greatly exaggerating, of course, the number of the fallen foe, and cutting down our own casualties. But I am unable to appreciate the subtlety of this system of lies told by everybody and believed by no one, and prefer to comfort myself with the well-tried proverb, "*On ne fait point d'omelette, sans casser des œufs.*" Every cook knows that, and every officer knows that in assailing a post, when the garrison have not fallen asleep, lives must be lost. It is odd that in the two years I have been in service here, constantly with the army, the troops under my command (and I have always had very strong divisions) have not taken part in any battle or engagement, and that I myself, so to speak, have not seen a gun go off. Were I a braggart I might go on to say that since I have been with the army the enemy have had little success, and that they are afraid to attack us because they know I am here; but the coincidence is really singular."

On the 21st of July Kalb, writing from Buttermilk Falls, two miles south of West Point, concludes this report by saying: "I marched my division hither yesterday and to-day, by way of Fort Montgomery. Our whole army has been concentrated here and in this neighborhood, on both banks of the river, since the day of Stony Point. The storming of that work seems to mortify the hostile general a good deal. He has come up to King's Ferry with a numerous fleet, and appears to have cannonaded Stony Point, when destroyed and evacuated by our forces. Be so good as to tell the Comte de Broglie, that Lieutenant-colonel Fleury has earned great renown at the capture of that point. He took two stand of c lors of the Seventeenth Regiment, and

it was he who tore the English standard from the walls. I believe he will be permitted to keep the flag, as a special mark of distinction."

Kalb remained at Buttermilk Falls during the summer and autumn, without meeting, in the course of these four months, with any memorable adventure. His division consisted of one regiment from Delaware and seven from Maryland, and was divided into two brigades, of which the first, under Smallwood comprised the First, Third, Fifth, and Seventh Maryland Regiments, while the second, under Gist, was formed of the Second, Fourth, and Sixth Maryland and a Delaware Regiment. All the troops under Kalb's orders then numbered 2,030.[78]

As the entire campaign of the year 1779 is marked only by the operations of the French and English fleets in the West India waters, and is characterized in other respects by the utter inactivity of the opposing forces, so the American and English forces on the Hudson also confined themselves to mutual reconnoissances and observations. Washington turned the time to good account by having his troops instructed and reformed by Steuben, by fortifying West Point as well as the other points on the Hudson, and by making Clinton indisposed to operate against him there. This inaction made the service in the American camp not a whit the less fatiguing and irksome. For weeks the army lay in the woods without their baggage. Often there was a scarcity of the most needful articles, and Kalb relates that for a whole month he slept on the bare ground or in his camp-stool, without however impairing his health. It was only at the arrival of the Marquis de la Luzerne, the new French Ambassador, that every effort appears to have been

made at least momentarily to mantle the prevailing distress, and to dignify it with an air of Spartan simplicity. Kalb, who had served with Luzerne under the Duc de Broglie in the Seven Years' War, now, on the 15th of September, 1779, rode eighteen miles to meet his old comrade in arms. On his arrival at the camp he invited him to dine with all the American generals, and afterward bore him company for twenty-eight miles on his journey back to Philadelphia.

Toward the fall Washington hoped to make an attempt upon New York, in concert with d'Estaing. The latter, however, instead of going to New York at once, suffered himself to be persuaded by Lincoln to storm Savannah, and, after being repulsed by the English, turned back his ships partly to France, and partly to the West Indies.

This awkward manœuvre once more disconcerted Washington's favorite project of a descent upon New York, where Clinton had collected all his forces, prepared to give him a warm reception. Washington now resolved to give up all further offensive movements for that season, and to go into winter-quarters. For this purpose he formed his army into two divisions, one of which, under Heath, was to defend the Highlands, while the other, with whom he had his head-quarters, withdrew to Morristown in New Jersey. Kalb belonged to the latter body. He marched from Buttermilk Falls, after all the other generals, on the 26th of November, and reached his destination after a toilsome march of six days.

These winter-quarters at Morristown have not acquired the same gloomy historic renown as those of two years previous at Valley Forge; but in reality they were attended with even greater sufferings. True, the existence of the army had ceased to be in question. The troops had achieved

some successes, had learned to regard themselves as a united whole, and had become better disciplined and consolidated; but the hardships of the soldier were greater than they had ever been. The unusually severe winter, which lasted from the end of November till April, and even made the ice of New York bay passable for heavy ordnance as far as Staten Island, made it impossible to bring up the necessary supplies. The commissary department had neither money nor credit; the most indispensable articles of clothing, such as blankets and overcoats, were wanting, and the troops were on half and quarter rations for weeks. Moreover, in the absence of gold and silver, the paper issue steadily increased in quantity, and of course sank in value. This depreciation was aggravated by a false move of Congress, in giving it artificial currency, and making it a legal tender at its nominal value. An unparalleled rise in the price of all the necessaries of life immediately ensued. In October, 1779, twenty dollars in paper had been equivalent to one dollar in specie; in April, 1780, the proportion was forty to one. The army being paid in paper at its nominal value, it is easy to form an idea of the distress prevailing among officers and privates. The annual salary of a major-general, which nominally amounted to two thousand dollars, was really little more than fifty dollars.

Under these circumstances, with the exception of little foraging expeditions, an enterprise against the enemy, or indeed any movement in the open field, was not to be thought of. All that Kalb could do consisted in drilling his division when the weather permitted, and in reforming them upon the plan dictated by Steuben, as Inspector-General. On the other hand, nothing is better adapted to afford an

impartial view of the condition of the camp, and of Kalb's personal affairs, than the description of himself and his surroundings found in the letters then addressed to his wife and European friends. We take the liberty of compressing several of them into a single sketch.[80]

"My division," he writes in December, 1779, "left West Point on the 26th of November. Our march lasted six days, and traversed a country almost entirely unpeopled; it proved fatal to many of the soldiers, in consequence of the cold, the bad weather, the horrid roads, the necessity of spending the night in the open air, and our want of protection against snow and rain. We are here going into winter-quarters in the woods, as usual. Since the beginning of this month we have been busy putting up our shanties. But the severe frost greatly retards our work, and does not even permit us to complete our chimneys. Winter has set in fiercely ever since the end of November. In any other country our repose at this place would bear the name of an arduous campaign; it is really worse. It may truly be said that a foreign officer, who has served in America as long as I have, under such adversities, must be either inspired with boundless enthusiasm for the liberties of the country, or possessed by the demons of fame and ambition, or impelled by an extraordinary zeal for the common cause of the king and his confederates. I knew, before I came, that I should have to put up with more than usual toils and privations, but I had no idea of their true extent. An iron constitution like mine is required to bear up under this sort of usage.

"It is so cold," he continues in February, "that the ink freezes in my pen, while I am sitting close by the fire. The roads are piled with snow until, at some places, they are

elevated twelve feet above their ordinary level. The present winter is especially remarkable for its uninterrupted and unvarying cold. The ice in the rivers is six feet thick. Since this part of America has been settled by Europeans, the North River at New York, where it is a mile and a half wide near its mouth, and subject to the ebb and flow of a strong tide, has not been frozen over so fast as to be passable by wagons. Unfortunately our camp will suffer even more from the thaw than from the frost, for it is but too much exposed to inundation. Those who have only been in Valley Forge and Middlebrook during the last two winters, but have not tasted the cruelties of this one, know not what it is to suffer.

"The times are growing worse from hour to hour. The dearth of the necessaries of life is almost incredible, and increases from day to day. A hat costs four hundred dollars, a pair of boots the same, and everything else in proportion. The other day I was disposed to buy a pretty good horse. A price was asked which my pay for ten years would not have covered. Of course I did not take it, and shall try to get along with my other horses. Money scatters like chaff before the wind, and expenses almost double from one day to the next, while income, of course, remains stationary. I have reduced my servants to the smallest number possible, which involves no great self-denial, as almost all servants are lazy, addicted to drink, and unreliable. The barber's compensation would at present consume all my pay; I have, therefore, made up my mind to shave myself. Being entirely in rags, I shall go to Philadelphia as soon as I can, to purchase new clothes, especially linen. The American officers have this advantage of us foreigners, that they can

go home on furlough, and there recruit and reëquip themselves. Besides, they are assisted by their respective States with additional pay, with uniforms, and with such provisions as Congress does not furnish, such as tea, sugar, coffee, and chocolate. The foreign officers have none of these little, but acceptable privileges, and are, moreover, compelled to pay with six dollars what an American buys for one."

In order to exhaust this very serious matter once for all, we here anticipate our recital by a few months, and insert an extract from a letter written by Kalb on the 29th of May, 1780, to his friend Holtzendorff, from Petersburg, Virginia, when on his march to the South. "Provisions and other articles," he says, "are growing dearer and dearer, being now double what they were a year ago, even if paid in gold, one dollar of which is now equal to sixty dollars in paper. My march costs me enormous sums. I cannot travel with my equipage, and am therefore compelled to resort to inns. My six months' earnings will scarce defray the most indispensable outlay of a single day. Not long since I was compelled to take a night's lodging at a private house. For a bad supper and grog for myself, my three companions, and three servants, I was charged, on going off without a breakfast next day, the sum of eight hundred and fifty dollars. The lady of the house politely added that she had charged nothing for the rooms, and would leave the compensation for them to my discretion, although three or four hundred dollars would not be too much for the inconvenience to which she had been put by myself and my followers. And these are the people who talk about sacrificing their all in the cause of liberty! Everything else is in proportion to these figures; an ordinary horse is worth $20,000, I say twenty thousand dollars!"

Even more annoying than this disproportion was the revolting churlishness often practised by the native officers to their comrades from abroad, in the distribution of the State subsidies above mentioned. A story of this kind preserved by Steuben, places the grievance of Kalb in the most striking light.[81] At the very time that the latter commanded the Maryland division, the government of that State sent a stock of coffee, cognac, tea, and sugar, articles then entirely out of the market, and therefore doubly prized by the officers. When the box arrived, General Smallwood, a brigadier-general, and as such Kalb's subordinate, placed a watch over the supplies, with orders to allow no part of the contents to go into the hands of General Kalb, his superior, on the ground that one who was not a Marylander had no title to a share!

It is usually said, and with truth, that the service of princes is hard, but, judging by this specimen, European officers must have found the service of liberty, with such comrades, a good deal harder.

At the desire of General Washington, Kalb postponed his trip to Philadelphia to the setting in of the thaw, as there was but one major-general in camp besides himself, and as an attack upon the American posts, over the ice-bound rivers and bays, might be expected at any moment. The utmost vigilance was the more desirable, as the English, particularly in the month of January, had made a number of incursions, from Staten Island, over the ice of the Kill van Kull, into Elizabethtown and Newark, both of which were undefended, and as this war of outposts was almost disastrous to the American troops. To prevent the recurrence of these mishaps Washington, on the 27th of January, 1780, appointed General St. Clair to the chief command of a corps of two

thousand men stationed there to repel the advance of the enemy.[82] This general was expected not only to defend the camp and the headquarters at Morristown against attack, to cover the country bordering on the enemy's lines, and to suppress all traffic with the city of New York, but also to ascertain the position and the posts of the enemy along the coast of New Jersey and Staten Island, and in short to insure the safety of the American army. The task was equally responsible and difficult, and was well and efficiently performed by General St. Clair. This officer having received a furlough, Kalb received the command of this corps in his stead, on the 29th of February, 1780. On the 1st of March he repaired to the lines. During the entire month, amid cold, snow, and thaw, he had the hardest duty to perform, in visiting an extended line of posts, reconoitring his positions, supervising the troops, and inspecting, by turns, every important point of the line. He was all day in the saddle, and moved his quarters back and forth between Amboy, Elizabethtown, Newark, Springfield, Westfield, and Scotch Plains, and every point possibly threatened by the English forces.

When the frost broke up in the month of March, another line of tactics was required. Kalb was anxious to guard his position against attacks by water, for which purpose he increased the number of his watch boats, and, on the 20th of March, wrote to Washington, as well as to General Greene, the quartermaster-general, to procure the requisite number of boats.

[82] "I have received your favor of yesterday," Washington writes from headquarters, Morristown, March 21, 1780, "enclosing a letter for General Greene, which I shall not deliver to him, as I know he has not at present the means of building

the boats you mention. I would therefore recommend to you to put out the best of those, which you may find in the several rivers, for the purpose of guard-boats. Upon referring to, and considering your former letter upon this subject, I am of opinion that the stations which you then pointed out will be dangerous, so far as they respect the distance between Elizabethtown and Amboy, the Sound there being so exceedingly narrow, that a boat pushed suddenly from the opposite shore in the night would more than probably take ours. Besides, I do not think we are to look for a descent in any considerable force from that quarter. The enemy have generally hitherto embarked either at Long Island or upon the further side of Staten Island, and have come through the Kills and across Newark Bay, thereby avoiding all discovery from this shore, which they would be subject to anywhere between Elizabethtown and Amboy. Newark Bay is, therefore, in my opinion, the proper and the safe place for your guard-boats to ply. It is of considerable extent, and a fleet of boats may be discovered either by their working or by sight some time before their approach. We have found, on repeated experiments, that the inhabitants will not remove their stock until the moment of danger; indeed, at this season they have no places to send them where they can be supplied with food. I would therefore have you give as general information as in your power, that an incursion of the enemy may be expected, and recommend to the people to drive back their stock upon the first communication of an alarm. I do not think it probable that the enemy will put their designs, if they have any, into execution while our Commissioners are sitting at Amboy. I mention this as a matter of opinion only, and would not wish you to relax your vigi-

lance on that account. You will, no doubt, have the signals in the uttermost state of preparation, and keep a small party stationed with alarm guns below Chatham."

After the receipt of this missive our hero remained in command of the lines for about a fortnight longer. As both parties refrained from acts of hostility during this period, the question remained undecided whether Washington's or Kalb's was the better opinion. On the 3d of April Kalb was relieved from this duty, and ordered to return to the main army, and march his division to the support of General Lincoln, who commanded at Charleston. He arrived in Morristown on the 4th of April, and left on the 5th for Philadelphia, where, however, he arrived only after a wearisome journey of three days, to enter, without delay, upon the preparations for his Southern expedition.

CHAPTER X.

THE CAMPAIGN IN THE SOUTH.—IMPORTANCE OF THE SOUTHERN STATES TO THE ENGLISH.—NEGLECT OF THEM AT THE OUTSET.—CAPTURE OF SAVANNAH.—CLINTON APPRECIATES THE IMPORTANCE OF CHARLESTON.—SAILS THERE FROM NEW YORK, WITH SEVEN THOUSAND MEN.—SIEGE OF CHARLESTON IN APRIL AND MAY, 1780.—WASHINGTON SEES THE DANGER AND SENDS REENFORCEMENTS.—DUPORTAIL GOES THERE AS ENGINEER.—INADEQUATE SUPPORT.—THE MARYLAND AND DELAWARE DIVISIONS, UNDER KALB, ARE PUT UNDER MARCHING ORDERS.—CONGRESS SANCTIONS WASHINGTON'S PLAN.—HIS LETTER TO THE BOARD OF WAR.—KALB GOES TO PHILADELPHIA.—HE MAKES HIS PREPARATIONS FOR THE MARCH.—EMBARKS HIS TROOPS AT HEAD OF ELK.—KALB LEAVES PHILADELPHIA THE 13TH OF MAY, 1780.—HE GOES FROM RICHMOND TO PETERSBURG.—HIS LETTER OF THE 29TH OF MAY.—REPORT OF HIS DISPOSITIONS.—THE STATE OF VIRGINIA IS LUKEWARM, AND DOES WHAT AMOUNTS TO NOTHING.—NEWS OF THE SURRENDER OF CHARLESTON.—KALB MARCHES NEVERTHELESS.—HE REACHES NORTH CAROLINA ON THE 20TH OF JUNE.—TOILSOME MARCH.—WANT OF TRANSPORTATION AND PROVISIONS.—NORTH CAROLINA DOES AS LITTLE AS VIRGINIA.—DESPERATE STATE OF THINGS.—THE PROMISED MILITIA AND SUPPLIES NOT FORTHCOMING.—KALB AT DEEP RIVER.—IS ABOUT TO MARCH INTO THE MOUNTAINS, WHEN RELIEVED BY GATES.—GREENE PASSED OVER.—CHARACTER OF GATES.—KALB'S LETTER TO GATES.—UNVARNISHED PICTURE OF THE SITUATION.—GATES THINKS HE KNOWS BETTER.—HIS ARRIVAL IN CAMP.—FRIENDLY INTERCOURSE OF THE TWO GENERALS.—GATES ISSUES MARCHING ORDERS.—ALL THE OFFICERS OPPOSE THIS HASTY MEASURE.—KALB'S USELESS REMONSTRANCES.—GATES INFATUATION.—THE ARMY BREAKS CAMP ON THE 27TH OF JULY, 1780, FOR SOUTH CAROLINA.—PROVISIONS AND FORAGE NOT SUFFICIENT FOR A SINGLE DAY.—FALSE REPRESENTATIONS.

THE South, whither we are now to follow the steps of our hero, had been but sparingly and exceptionally drawn into the sphere of British operations during the first years of the

war, partly because they had not sufficiently appreciated its importance even in reference to Northern movements, and partly because their forces had been too small to admit of division. After the flight of the Royal Governors from Virginia and the Carolinas at the close of the year 1775, the English Admiral Parker, in June 1776, endeavored to retake Charleston, and gain a foothold in South Carolina; his repulse by Moultrie led the British generals to abandon all further attempts to repossess themselves of those provinces. After this the South was left to its fate for upward of two years, the war in the North occupying the undivided attention of the royal army and navy. It was late in 1778 before Colonel Campbell succeeded in making himself master of the important town of Savannah, where he was shortly reënforced and superseded in command by General Prevost, who had hitherto directed operations in Florida. Clinton immediately sent Lord Cornwallis to Savannah, with what few troops could be spared in the North, to bring back Georgia to the allegiance to the crown; but Cornwallis was compelled by stress of weather to return, with great loss, and without having accomplished his purpose. In the autumn of 1779 the French Admiral, Count d'Estaing, on his return from the West Indies, undertook to reduce Savannah, but lost too much time in fruitless negotiations, and was compelled to retire after an unsuccessful assault on the 9th of October, which was the occasion of the fall of the Polish Count Pulaski, on the Franco-American side.

This piece of good fortune on the part of the English at once altered the entire aspect of affairs in America, and gave them time and opportunity to recover. The French fleet separated, a part returning home and the remainder being

distributed between the harbors of Martinique and Guadeloupe, and Washington, deprived of d'Estaing's support, could not execute his projected movement against New York. Clinton now began to understand the importance of the Southern provinces, and the necessity of holding them to the success of a campaign in the North. Congress having no money to give the French and Spaniards for munitions of war, cannon, uniforms, and medicines, was obliged to pay for them in productions such as indigo, rice, tobacco, and turpentine, which were grown in the Southern colonies, and exported from Charleston and Savannah. The first thing to be done, therefore, was to take and occupy Charleston before the setting in of the summer heats, and to control South Carolina by means of its port, as Georgia was controlled by the possession of Savannah. Under these circumstances Clinton had made up his mind to undertake an expedition in the midst of winter; and he himself set sail from New York with seven thousand men on the 20th of December, 1779. After a voyage of six weeks the fleet reached Savannah, and then sailed up the coast to the islands southwest of Charleston, where the troops disembarked the 10th and 11th of February, 1780. On the 29th of March they crossed the Ashley River about fourteen miles above the city, and opened the siege on the 1st of April, which ended on the 12th of May in the surrender of the town by General Lincoln.

Washington had no sooner seen the danger impending over the latter, than he had made every effort to reënforce him. Though he could hardly spare any troops himself, as early as the 12th of December, 1779, before even Clinton had left New York, he ordered the Virginia line[84] to march south immediately and unite with Lincoln, who was of

course left in the lurch by the State militia. "Our safety," Lincoln writes repeatedly to John Laurens from Charlestown,[85] "depends on the seasonable arrival of such reënforcements as will oblige him (the enemy) to raise the siege." Want of the most necessary articles of apparel and of transportation detained the 737 regulars of Virginia at Petersburg till the beginning of March; when, however, they travelled a distance of five hundred and five English miles by forced marches in thirty days, and on the 7th of April, 1780, reached Charleston,[86] invested by the enemy a week before. In addition to these troops Washington sent Lincoln an eminent engineer officer in the person of General Duportail (who, in 1791, became French minister of war), recommending him as a most reliable adviser in all emergencies; but Duportail also, without any fault of his, reached Charleston only on the 25th of April, and found the position untenable, if not unexpectedly relieved by a strong force.[88] When it is considered that in those days it required four weeks to communicate between Charleston and New York, it is easily seen that upon receiving news of this character, dated in February, at the beginning of April, Washington might still believe in the possibility of rescuing Charleston by a powerful body of troops. When, therefore, at the end of March he heard of additional shipments of English troops going on at New York, he took immediate steps to have the Maryland and Delaware division in readiness to march to the further support of Lincoln.

"Something should be hazarded here," Washington writes on April 2, 1780, from Morristown to the President,[89] "relying on the internal strength of the country, for the purpose of giving further succor to the Southern States, where there

is not the same dependence. I shall therefore put the Maryland line, and the Delaware regiment, which acts with it, under marching orders immediately, and have directed provisions to be made for transporting them as far as Philadelphia; and I propose that their march, if practicable, should commence on the sailing of the detachment from New York. But before the measure is carried into execution, I shall be happy to know the sense of Congress on its expediency. The consequences may be very important either way, and I wish to have their instructions for my government.

"In case the detachment is to march, its ulterior proceedings and route from Philadelphia will depend on the orders which Congress, or the Board of War, by their directions, shall give; for it is impossible for me, under our circumstances, to give directions upon this occasion. The quartermaster and commissary-general are both in Philadelphia, and will exert themselves, I am persuaded, to carry into execution any plan for the transportation and accommodation of the troops that may be judged most eligible, as far as it may be in their power. Baron de Kalb, who is now at the head of the Maryland division, will command the detachment in case it proceeds, and will set out to-morrow or the next day for Philadelphia to assist and expedite the arrangements for its future movements. If the troops could embark without delay at the Head of Elk, and arrive safe in James River, it would not only be a great ease to them, but it would expedite their arrival at the southward, and prevent many desertions, which will probably happen if they march through their State. But how far this mode of proceeding may be eligible, I will not pretend to determine, as the enemy, in case they should be advised of it, which every precaution of se-

crecy would be necessary to prevent, might, by sending armed vessels into the bay, attempt to intercept them in their passage. Major Lee's corps is under marching orders for the southward, of which I have advised the Board of War, and the commanding officer is directed to proceed with it as soon as he adjusts them with the proper arrangements."

As was mentioned at the close of the preceding chapter, Kalb had returned to headquarters two days after the date of the letter just quoted, by order of the commander-in-chief, in order to proceed to Philadelphia as speedily as possible for the arrangement of his private affairs. Washington's letter of the 4th of April induced him to hasten his departure, and set out on the following day.

"I have, in consequence of the opinion of the last council of war," Washington writes to Kalb on April 4, 1780, from Morristown,* "left it with Congress finally to determine upon the march of the Maryland division to the southward. That no time may be lost in the transportation of the troops, should Congress agree in sentiment with the council, I am to desire you to proceed immediately to Philadelphia; and if you find, upon your arrival there, that the troops are to move, concert with the Board of War and the commissary and quartermaster-general the necessary arrangements for their provision and accommodation. But should it be determined that the march of the body of men alluded to is at this time either inexpedient or unnecessary, you will be pleased, after completing your private business, to return to your command in the army. If you proceed to the southward, I wish you a safe and expeditious march, and every success that you can possibly desire."

On Kalb's arrival at Philadelphia on the 8th of April,

he found that Congress had already decided to accept Washington's suggestion. He therefore remained where he was, and engaged in the preparations necessary for the march of his troops.

"In consequence of the detachment the enemy are now making," Washington writes to Lincoln, April 15, 1780, "it has been determined to march the Maryland division of about 2,000 men to your assistance; but our situation here will not permit it to move before it is certain the enemy's detachment has sailed. Baron de Kalb will command this division. This reënforcement, in all probability, will be too late to have any influence upon the fall of Charleston; but if that should fall, it may serve to check the progress of the British troops, and prevent their getting entire possession of the State. If they succeed against Charleston, there is much reason to believe the Southern States will become the principal theatre of the war."

It having been ascertained that the hostile detachment had sailed from New York on the 7th of April, the Maryland division broke their camp at Morristown on the 16th, and marched, in the first instance, to Philadelphia.[92] Here Kalb superintended their equipment, and sent the infantry, numbering about 1,400 men, to Head of Elk (now Elkton), the northernmost point of Chesapeake Bay, where they embarked on the 3d of May for Petersburg, Virginia, while the artillery, with the baggage and ammunition, proceeded south by land.

"The providing the troops under my command," Kalb says in a letter to Washington from Philadelphia, on May 12, 1780, "with every necessary for their march, has been attended with many difficulties and delays which it was not

in my power to remove as soon as I could have wished; and, therefore, I was not able to give a satisfactory account to your Excellency before now.

"The Board of War have fixed upon Richmond as the place of rendezvous for the whole. The two brigades embarked at the Head of Elk, the artillery, ammunition, and baggage proceeded by land. I shall set out to-morrow morning. I should have done it many days ago had I not been detained by the Board of War and of the Treasury. I should have been happy to see the Marquis de Lafayette, but would not lose a moment in going on.

"From Richmond I will write to your Excellency the situation of the troops, the number of recruits joined on the march, and the measures I shall take to march with most expedition."

Kalb himself left Philadelphia the following day, May 13th, was detained two days at Annapolis, waiting for moneys to be paid by the treasurer of the State of Maryland, and arrived at Richmond on the 22d. Finding that Governor Jefferson had removed the rendezvous of the troops twenty-three miles southward to Petersburg, Kalb went there on the next day. Here the last transports of his division had just arrived, and he was kept busy night and day, contending with innumerable difficulties, and obliged to deny himself all rest until the troops could be hurried into marching order.

"How gladly," writes Kalb from Petersburg, May 29, to his wife and his friend Holtzendorff, "would I have tarried a few days in Philadelphia, to await the arrival of the Marquis de Lafayette, announced in your last letters. I had hundreds and hundreds of questions to ask him, and would

have been glad to have chatted with him for some hours; but it was impossible to postpone my departure even a single day, as my troops were already on the march for this place, and as the fate of Charleston evidently depends upon the succor to be brought by me. It is to be hoped that I shall come in time, but I cannot be there before the end of June. Everything seems to have conspired against me and the interests of the service. Come what may, however, I will not have the blame of any delay laid at my door. I have under my orders the troops of Maryland and Delaware, Lee's corps, and a regiment of artillery with twelve pieces. I have been promised further reënforcements of militia from Virginia and North Carolina; but such is the dilatory manner in which all things are done here, that I cannot depend upon them, much less wait for them. To-morrow and next day my troops, divided into three brigades, will take up their line of march, provided always the long-promised wagons are forthcoming. In spite of the haste with which I shall move, it is very possible that the fate of Charleston will have been decided before my arrival. For, although the city has long been threatened with a siege, and the enemy was in close proximity for a long time before he could complete the investment, although, therefore, there was the largest abundance of time to stock it with supplies, yet I fear this essential matter has been entirely overlooked, or has received the necessary attention only when it was too late."

The State of Virginia did not furnish the promised wagons, or left them unprovided longer than had been represented. Suffolk County bound itself for forty wagons, and Richmond for twelve, while the remainder were to be procured in Petersburg. June arrived, however, before a few of the

wagons came straggling in. For this reason Kalb could not despatch the first brigade of his little corps before the first of June. The other wagons came so sparingly, that he loaded those he had with the tents, and ordered the soldiers, notwithstanding the heat of the season, to carry their own baggage, and, to save further parley, started the second brigade on the sixth of June, while he brought up the rear with the third on the 8th. He took the route by way of Taylor's Ferry to Hillsborough and Salisbury.

"I meet with no support, no integrity, and no virtue in the State of Virginia," Kalb writes about this time to his friend Dr. Phyle, of Philadelphia, "and place my sole reliance on the French fleet and army, which are coming to our relief. For my part, I expect a most toilsome campaign, having been detained much too long by the non-arrival of my wagons."[99] Before setting out for the South, Kalb received the confirmation of his fears respecting the fate of Charleston. The modifications in his plans which this sad event made necessary, are explained in the following letter to the Board of War from Petersburg, June 6, 1780:

"I am this moment informed by Major Jamison," he writes, "who arrived from Georgetown, South Carolina, that Charleston capitulated on the 12th May, our garrison prisoners of war, the enemy advancing this side Georgetown, their forces in that quarter unknown, but that their army under Gen. Clinton was with a late reënforcement he received about 12,000. No certainty where Gov. Rutledge is with the troops under his command, and have sent orders to the first brigade and artillery to halt where they are until I shall join with the second brigade. I suppose my letters will find them not far from Salisbury. There I will consider what steps to take, if a

junction with Gov. Rutledge may be expected, and whether there will be any prospect of obtaining militia from Virginia and North Carolina; but even then the enemy will be still vastly superior in number. I am determined to be on the defensive until reënforcement, and further orders and directions either from your Board, Congress, or the Commander-in-chief. By Major Jamison I also understand that Col. Armand's corps is in Wilmington. The State artillery of Virginia moved from this place twenty-eight days ago by the same road I am marching; they are supposed to be actually about Camden or with Gov. Rutledge." *

While the fall of Charleston had frustrated the main object of Kalb's mission, it by no means superseded the necessity of his march South; on the contrary, the case had been foreseen and provided for by his instructions. As yet the enemy had not gained a footing anywhere in North or South Carolina, outside of Charleston. It was important to form a strong nucleus for the militia, to encourage and organize the Whigs, to repress the Tories, to harass the enemy in his contemplated advance, to cut off his supplies, and to injure him in every possible way. The State of Virginia, unarmed and helpless as it was, now awoke to its own interest sufficiently to do all in its power[96] toward facilitating Kalb's movements, and sending out his corps to the defence of the State frontier; but, in consequence of the utter want of means, all the preparations made and assistance rendered were so meagre, so far below the most moderate estimates and expectations, that Kalb's advance was of the very slowest. It was not before the 20th of June that he reached the boundary of North Carolina. His first letter from this State is dated at Goshen, Grenville County, the 21st of June, and is addressed to his wife.[97]

* Literal Copy.

"Here I am at last," he says, "considerably south, suffering from intolerable heat, the worst of quarters, and the most voracious of insects of every hue and form. The most disagreeable of the latter is what is commonly called the tick, a kind of strong black flea, which makes its way under the skin, and by its bite produces the most painful irritation and inflammation, which lasts a number of days. My whole body is covered with these stings. I do not yet know whether the strength and the movements of the enemy, and the difficulty of feeding my little army, will permit me to advance two hundred miles further to the borders of this State. I have ordered several detachments to rendezvous to-morrow thirty-three miles from here, if a violent storm does not prevent us from effecting a junction. Of the violence of thunderstorms in this part of the world Europeans cannot form any idea."

The further southward the little corps penetrated, the more difficult the march became. With every mile travelled the supply of provisions and transportation diminished. At Hillsborough Kalb was compelled to lie idle a number of days, to give his exhausted soldiers an opportunity to rest and refresh themselves as far as possible. He was in hopes, also, of meeting at this place the promised militia of Virginia and North Carolina; but the number that arrived was comparatively trifling. Hence he marched on in a southwesterly direction to Greenborough, until, on the 6th of July, he reached Wilcox's Iron Works, on Deep River, where he was again brought to a halt by want of provisions.

"Since last giving you some account of myself at Goshen," says Kalb, writing to his wife on the 7th of July from his camp on Deep River,[98] "I have had to make most fatiguing marches, endure much heat, and overcome great

difficulties; but am still far from the end. It is even possible that after having reached the goal assigned myself, I shall be compelled to retreat without striking a blow, for want of provisions. What a difference between warfare in this country and in Europe! They who do not know the former, know not what it is to contend against obstacles. I would fain be rid of my command, than which there can be nothing more annoying or difficult. My present position makes me doubly anxious to return to you as soon as possible."

The State of North Carolina had not made the slightest arrangements for the subsistence of the Union troops, but devoted its attention exclusively to its own militia, many of whom, being of royalist sentiments, had to be forced into the service. Kalb's requisitions and remonstrances had no effect whatever upon the State executive. He was thus compelled to send out foraging parties, under discreet officers, to collect provisions at a season when very few harvests are garnered. A considerable part of the population were living upon the remnants of the last corn crop, and the next, though very promising, had not yet ripened. Hence, in spite of the most stringent orders to take but a part of the contents of each granary, many a farmer suffered severely. In this precarious condition the army continued for several days; but as the stock of provisions in the vicinity of the camp was speedily exhausted, the alternative presented itself of either procuring them from a greater distance, or marching to where they were more plentiful. The former was impracticable, as Kalb was totally without transportation; he concluded, therefore, to resort to the latter expedient, after having first enlarged the beat of his foraging parties, directed

a little magazine to be erected at Cox (or Wilcox's) Mills, and encamped in the neighborhood of Buffalo Ford.

But all this was far from sufficient to provide the indispensable necessaries for his troops; the little meat that could be provided was of half-starved cattle collected from the woods and bushes where it had wintered. Inactivity, bad nourishment, and the difficulty of preserving discipline, have often proved fatal to troops, where no immediate danger is apprehended, and have been the ruin of entire armies; but in this instance the assiduity of the officers, and the patience and fortitude of the rank and file, upheld the order and harmony of the command, and even the ardor of the individual soldier."

Kalb did not fail to report his condition to Congress, and to reiterate his solicitations with the executive of North Carolina. He had been amused with promises of abundant supplies, and of a strong reënforcement of North Carolina militia, which had then taken the field under the command of Major-General Caswell. But the supplies never came, and the commander of the militia, who thirsted for personal distinction, employed his men in little expeditions against the seditious or discontented inhabitants, who had taken refuge in the woods, swamps, and bushes, to escape from the service of their country.

Kalb vainly requested General Caswell to join him, and found it useless to wait longer for supplies for his troops in a country where everything was being destroyed by the marauding militia. He hesitated, therefore, whether to discredit Caswell's lamentations about scarcity of provisions, and form a junction with him, or to march higher up into the country, and endeavor to gain the fertile shores of the Yad-

kin. Before coming to a decision he was notified of the speedy arrival of General Gates, who, immediately after the intelligence of the surrender of Charleston, had been appointed by Congress to succeed Lincoln as commander-in-chief of the Southern army.[100]

In October, 1777, General Gates, as is well known, had captured the English general, Burgoyne, with his whole army, by which brilliant success, not so much his own merit as that of his predecessor, General Schuyler, he had suddenly achieved a wide-spread reputation. In consequence of this decisive victory he was regarded by the masses, who always judge by results, as one of the greatest generals, and looked upon himself as a military genius. Hairbrained, haughty, and conceited as he was, he ranked himself above Washington and intrigued against him, imbued other coxcombs and intriguers with an exalted idea of his merits and services, and even had a powerful party in Congress. Lincoln being a prisoner, it was the more important to appoint an immediate successor, as a new army could not be sent to the South. Kalb had had no opportunity of distinguishing himself. He was rarely seen at the capital, took no trouble to obtain influential friends or patrons, and therefore, although his great experience and cool circumspection would have fitted him admirably for the leadership in that part of the scene of war, he was rarely or never mentioned as a candidate for the succession to this highly-responsible post. Besides, there was, in the person of General Greene, an officer of older rank and higher merit, who had the first claims to this distinction, and who was the choice of Washington for the position. But Congress had no sooner heard of the fall of Charleston, with almost unbecoming haste, and without

waiting for the proposals of the commander-in-chief, or taking his opinion, they, on the 13th of June, 1780, appointed Gates to lead the Army of the South. It was supposed that the mere name of the conqueror of Saratoga would raise the drooping spirits, and that one so successful as Gates could not but prove a match for Lord Cornwallis. Gates was on his plantation in Virginia when he received the news of his appointment. He accepted it with thanks, and at once hastened South, in the confident hope of achieving new triumphs, and finishing the war at a blow. "Take care," cried his old friend and fellow-intriguer, Charles Lee, at parting, "lest your Northern laurels turn to Southern willows." [101] But Gates did not take care.

Kalb received the announcement of his appointment, through Gates himself, on the 13th of July, at his camp on Deep River. We have seen by the letter to his wife above quoted, that under the circumstances in promptly and cheerfully surrendering the chief command into the hands of the new-comer, he acted not so much from a sense of resignation or self-denial, as with a feeling of indescribable relief from almost insupportable responsibilities. Honor and renown were not to be acquired in North Carolina; of this Kalb had long become convinced. Nothing was to be done except to evade the hostile forces, to avoid a decisive engagement, and, as far as possible, to amuse the enemy for months to come, while waiting for supports in way of troops, ammunition, and provisions; and even then the small number of troops and the ill discipline of the militia made success highly questionable.

"I am happy by your arrival," Kalb writes July 16, 1780, from his camp on the Deep River to Gates,* "for I have strug-

* Literal copy.

gled with a good many difficulties for provisions ever since I arrived in this State; and altho' I have put the troops on short allowance for bread, we cannot get even that; no flour laid in, and no disposition made for any but what I have done by military authority; no assistance from the legislative or executive power; and the greatest unwillingness in the people to part with anything. Of all this I will give you a more particular account at your arrival. The design I had to move nearer the enemy to drive them from Pedee River, a plentiful country, has been defeated by the impossibility of subsisting on the road, and no immediate supplies to be depended on in the first instance after a difficult march.

"I will prepare exact returns towards the time I shall have the pleasure of seeing you, of the regular troops of the department, but I could hardly depend on any but the Maryland and Delaware regiments of my division, with a small number of artillerymen and Col. Armand's legion, and all those very much reduced by sickness, discharges, and desertion. This induced me to leave three pieces of artillery at Roanoke River and to send some six to Hillsborough, having kept eight, which I thought sufficient for so small an army.

"I am to move towards Coxe's Mill higher up on Deep River, where I am to be joined by the North Carolina militia under Major-general Caswell, of about 1,200. The Virginia militia are still at Hillsborough, as you will be informed there. You may also have met with a small party of Col. Buford's remains; I wanted to keep them in the army, but wanting arms and clothing he insisted on marching them to Virginia, and promised me he would join in the beginning of July. I have not heard from him since. Col. Washington's and Col. White's regiments of horse are at Halifax, it is said, unfit for service. I

have wrote to them both several times to know their situations, but could not obtain an answer as yet; there were two troops of Virginia State light-horse under Major Nelson in so bad order in respect to horses, wanting saddles and every article of accoutrement, that I have sent them to Halifax to refit and recruit.

"Col. White has left 25 of his light-horse at Hillsborough, they might serve you for an escort; if you order one from camp to meet you, let me be informed thereof in time. You will find the army in a few days at or near Coxe's Mill; your shortest road will be by Lindley's Mill, Cob Taxton, and Rocky River; your wagons, if you have any, would go better by Chatham Court House; your quarters will be marked near camp."

"Yesterday I had the honor," Gates answers from Hillsborough, July 20, 1780, "to receive your obliging letter of the 16th instant, dated from your camp on Deep River. I am astonished at your distress and difficulties, and have ever since my arrival here upon last Tuesday been endeavoring to alleviate them. I have sent despatches to the Governor and Executive Council of this State, to Governor Jefferson of Virginia, and to Congress; in all these you may be satisfied I have endeavored to describe our real situation, so as that no mistake may be entertained upon that head. Enough has already been lost in a vain defence of Charleston; if more is sacrificed, I think the Southern States are undone, and this may go nearly to undo the rest. I think all my writing business will be finished to-day; if so, I shall set out to-morrow for camp, and hope to be with you on Saturday. The troops as you mention for my escort here are without horses, and many of them sent by Capt. Gun to Halifax. I will acquaint you

to-morrow the route I intend to come, and request an escort to meet me at a certain spot I will name."

Gates only reached camp on the 25th of July. Kalb received him with studied courtesy, and with a salute of thirteen guns. Gates was equally polite, confirmed all the standing orders of his predecessor, but, to the greatest amazement of the latter, announced to the troops at his first review, that they must expect to march at a moment's notice. He evidently wanted to distinguish himself by a quick and energetic advance, in contrast with the previous involuntary slowness of movement; but in point of fact his orders of July 26th, commanding the troops to march on the direct road for Camden on the following day, betrayed his total ignorance of the true state of affairs, and especially of the condition of the soldiers who had been but a single day in his charge.

Kalb induced Colonel Williams, who had hitherto acted as his adjutant-general, and who was an old friend of Gates, to remonstrate with the latter on the hazard of the step he was about to take. Williams proved to him for that purpose that the district of country to be traversed was naturally sterile, full of sandy plains alternating with numerous swamps, and but very thinly settled. He strove to convince him that the desired stock of provisions and forage which had been collected on the banks of the streams crossing the route, had been already exhausted, or carried off by the enemy or by hordes of bandits, who, under the designation of Tories, had retreated before the persecutions of those who were called Whigs, and who, by incessant depredations, and by removing even the little remnant of provisions, could infallibly reduce his little army to the verge of starvation. On the other hand Williams represented to General Gates that by taking a more

northwesterly direction, near where the Pedee loses the name of Yadkin, he would strike the town of Salisbury, lying in the midst of a fertile country, with a patriotic population. He further remarked that the latter route had been the choice of the most circumspect and efficient of the officers, with General Kalb at their head, partly because it promised the most abundant supply of all sorts of provisions, partly because in case of a reverse it offered the sick and wounded a secure asylum at Salisbury or Charlotte, as the militia of the counties of Mecklenburg and Rowan, in which those towns are situate, were devoted to the cause of independence; and finally because it was the most favorable locality for the erection of the contemplated workshop for the repair of arms. In conclusion, Williams submitted to his commander, that the supplies coming from the North would find this the safest route to the camp; that the advantage of taking the enemy's outposts in the flank was not to be despised even when obtained at the expense of such a circuit; and that the army itself might then advance upon the most important of these outposts at Camden with the Wateree on its right flank, and its friends in the rear.

To give all these considerations the more weight with the commanding general, they had been drawn up in writing, and signed by the leading officers. On the representations of Williams, who presented this memorial, Gates promised to convene all the staff officers for consultation at noon of the first day of the march; but such was his infatuation that he refused to listen to their advice, and never even invited them to a conference.[104]

The marching order accordingly remained in force. On the 27th of July the army broke camp and proceeded south-

ward. The complaint that there were not provisions and forage for a single day, was disposed of with the remark that the wagons coming from the North, laden with provisions, particularly rum, would come up with the army in two days at farthest.

CHAPTER XI.

Camp Broken July 27, 1780.—March to the South.—Kalb in Command of a Division.—Poverty and Desolation of the Country to be Traversed.—The Soldiers Badly Clothed and Fed.—The Promised Supplies fail to Arrive.—Gates Expects Assistance from the State of North Carolina.—Is Disappointed.—Gates' Letter to Governor Nash.—Threatened Mutiny Among the Troops.—Gates begins to Appreciate the Difficulties which Surround Him.—His Excuses.—Kalb in favor of Taking the Road which Leads to the Right.—Gates Forms a Junction with the North Carolina Militia under Caswell.—Contentment of the Troops.—Negligence of the Militia.—Position of the Enemy.—Rawdon and Cornwallis.—The Former takes a Position on Little Lynch Creek, Fifteen Miles North of Camden.—Strong Position of the Enemy.—Gates Makes no Attempt to Flank Him, but Turns Off to the Right.—Lord Rawdon Concentrates his Forces at Camden.—Gates Weakens Himself by Sending a Detachment to Sumter.—His Army on the Eve of the Battle.—Departure from Clermont for Camden.—Order of March.—Lord Cornwallis at Camden.—An American Council of War Resolves to Attack Him.—Strength of the American Forces.—Kalb is Opposed to a Battle.—Gates Elated.—He Regards Cornwallis as his Prisoner in Advance.—Cornwallis also Resolves to Give Battle.—His Motives.—Both Armies Break Camp on the 15th of August.—They Meet Half-way Between Clermont and Camden.—Skirmish of Outposts.—Gates Calls a Council of War.—Orders the Attack.—Kalb Silent.—His Reasons.—Advantages of the Ground on the Side of the British.—Their Order of Battle, and that of the Americans.—Advantages of the English Position.—Gates' Errors.—Cornwallis takes Prompt Advantage of them.—He Orders the Attack.—Flight of the American Centre and Left Wing.—Gates Involved in it.—Kalb in Command on the Field of Battle.—His Vigorous Resistance and Fall.—Bravery of the Maryland Division.—It is Overcome by Numbers, and Flies. Loss of the Americans.—Kalb Stripped to his Shirt.—He Bleeds

FROM ELEVEN WOUNDS.—CORNWALLIS RECOGNIZES HIM.—HE IS BROUGHT TO CAMDEN.—DIES THERE ON THE 19TH OF AUGUST.—HIS LAST LETTER TO HIS SOLDIERS.—HIS FUNERAL.—TESTIMONY OF GATES AND WASHINGTON.—CONGRESS RESOLVES TO ERECT A MONUMENT TO KALB AT ANNAPOLIS.—ITS INSCRIPTION.—THE RESOLUTION NEVER EXECUTED.

THE march of the little army, which, for want of horses, was even compelled to leave behind two of its eight field-pieces at Deep River, took the direction of Buffalo Ford and the enemy's advanced posts on Lynch Creek, whence it proceeded directly toward Camden in South Carolina, where Lord Rawdon was then posted. Gates hoped to induce him to retreat without firing a gun, and in that case to follow him up to Charleston itself.

Kalb was again in command of his division of the "Grand Army," as the force of about three thousand men was called by the commanding general in the orders of the day of July 26th. Cotton's Farm was reached on the 28th of July, and Kimborough's on the 29th. On the 30th and 31st the march was interrupted by a terrific thunderstorm. The land traversed was poor and desolate, hardly reclaimed from its natural condition, and rather worse even than the gloomy descriptions which had been made of it. The first rude efforts at civilization and culture which appeared here and there, had been either abandoned by their owners or plundered by their neighbors. All men had fled this wilderness, many of them to join some of the numerous bands of adventurers who held out promises of protection to their adherents until the anxiously expected English soldiery should arrive. In consequence, the distress and misery of the troops increased from day to day. They were told that the banks of the Pedee were exceedingly fertile—and so they proved; but the preceding harvest was exhausted, and the green corn, though

fair and plentiful, not yet ripe enough to be eaten. Many of the soldiers, driven by hunger, cut the green ears, and boiled them with the meat of the half-starved cattle found in the woods. A meal of this sort was not unpalatable, but had the most destructive effect on the health of the troops. In the absence of bread, half-ripe peaches were also consumed, with similar results. The officers, aware of the danger of such nourishment taken without any salt, and with a trifling addition of lean meat, eat nothing but the latter, boiled or roasted. It occurred to some of them that the hair-powder which they carried would thicken the soup; and they used it as food.[105] The supplies of provisions and rum, promised by Gates on taking up the line of march, were, of course, not forthcoming; but the soldiers were again consoled and amused with a fresh instalment of splendid promises. The late storm, it was said, had detained the provision trains, but an abundance would shortly arrive, and the general would take every precaution to prevent a return of such privations. Relying on this assurance, the soldiers bore up against hunger and want with patient resignation and unbroken fortitude.

The little army reached the Pedee on the second, and crossed it on the 4th of August at Mark's Ferry, where it formed a junction with the inconsiderable corps of Lieutenant-colonel Porterfield, an excellent officer. Gates' eyes were now being opened. He wrote to the Governor of North Carolina from this point, begging him for a speedy shipment of provisions, to save his troops from starvation. As if Kalb's bitter experiences had not sufficed to convince a circumspect commander that the indolent executive of that State could not be depended on for anything whatever! Gates now suffered

severely for his gasconade; but, unfortunately, his soldiers suffered even more than he did. His letter of August 3d, to Governor Nash, shows that all the fair promises he had made were based upon nothing but the simple-hearted assumption that the State of North Carolina would hasten to honor the requisition of a Federal general.

"I had the honor to address your Excellency from Hillsborough, the 19th ult., by General Huger," Gates says in this letter, "but have as yet received no answer. The distress this army has suffered and still continues to suffer for want of provisions has perhaps destroyed the finest opportunity that could be presented of driving in the enemy's advanced posts, in all likelihood even unto Charleston. Lord Cornwallis is believed to be gone to Savannah, has weakened his main body at Camden, where Lord Rawdon commands, and withdrawn the troops from Augusta, Cheraw, and Anson Court House. I'm astonished that I have not intelligence of any flour coming to me from the interior part of the State. Your Excellency cannot believe this miserable country, already ravaged by the enemy and gleaned by the militia under the Generals Caswell and Rutherford, can afford a handful to me. I must believe, from your Excellency's letter in answer to mine from Richmond, that you had then done all you thought necessary to provide us. I am anxious that this letter should find your Excellency and the Executive Council at Hillsborough, exerting all your authority and influence to supply your almost famished troops! Flour and rum are the articles the most in request in this climate, which bad water contribute to render more unwholesome. Rum is as necessary to the health of the soldier as good food. Without these full hospitals and a thin army will be all your State or that of

Congress can depend on in the Southern Department. For my own part, I have never lost one moment in pressing the army forward, from the instant I joined them to this moment; and when I can do more it shall be done. Depend not, sir, upon commissaries. They will deceive you. Depend only upon honest men of sound Whig principles, and whose souls are superior to sordid gain. General Stevens and the Virginia militia is halted at Buffalo Ford, fifty miles in my rear, and cannot proceed for want of provisions. General Rutherford's division have tents. I hope those I wrote for to your Excellency are in a fair way to be sent forward. I march tomorrow at daybreak."

Neither supplies nor reënforcements came, and yet Gates could not remain where he was, and was compelled to advance. He marched first to Deep Creek, where he arrived on the 6th of August, and rested until the 7th. The men were again quieted with the prospect of an abundance of provisions at May's Mill, and induced by these representations to obey the order of march with alacrity; but, being again disappointed, and almost dead with hunger, their patience threatened at last to forsake them. They began to straggle, to steal, and to plunder. Even those who remained in the ranks looked dark and scowling, and a mutiny, which would have produced the most deplorable consequences, was on the point of breaking out, when the officers, mingling with the men, and reasoning with them, succeeded in silencing the murmurs for which there was, unfortunately, but too much foundation. They showed their own empty canteens and haversacks, and convinced the privates that the sufferings of all were equal, exhorted them to bear up under the hardships of the hour, and promised that if the expected supplies did

not very soon arrive, foraging parties should be sent out by every corps in all directions, to collect what little corn might still be stored in the country, and bring it to the mill.

By great good fortune, it happened that, immediately after this occurrence, a little stock of corn was brought into the camp. The mill began to grind, and in a few hours the soldiers were served with a meal such as they had long foregone. This sudden turn of affairs restored the composure of the men, and they conceived fresh hopes for the future. Not so the officers, who, at their own request, had been last served with rations. However, it was useless to complain to the commanding general, as no one could advise him how to extricate himself at a blow from the dilemma. Nevertheless he was informed of what took place in the camp, and was aware of the critical state of feeling among the troops. He now began to appreciate the difficulties pressing upon him, and, sensible of the responsibility incurred, he declared to Colonel Williams, who since the 6th of August had acted as adjutant-general in place of Major Armstrong, who was ill, that he had been in a measure compelled to take the route he had adopted. General Caswell, he proceeded to explain, had evaded every order, both of Kalb and of Gates, to unite his militia with the regular army, being evidently vain of his independent command, and bent upon some enterprise flattering to his personal ambition. He, Gates, would like to see him soundly whipped, were it not that a defeat would scatter his militia and leave the regulars without reënforcements. Gates therefore considered it indispensable to counteract the recklessness of Caswell, and to save him from destruction, particularly as he commanded the only body of militia that had been raised in the Carolinas. In this design

the commanding general declared himself confirmed by the supposition that Caswell, in spite of his protestations to the contrary, was well supplied with provisions, which, after a junction had been effected, would redound to the benefit of his own people. He further justified his advance by saying that after he had gone so far to meet the enemy, a retrograde movement would not only discourage the troops, but alienate the inhabitants, who had been induced by promises of oblivion and protection to renounce the English and adhere to the Union cause.

Kalb and Williams vainly answered these arguments by representing the poverty of the country and the insincerity and faithlessness of the inhabitants. Kalb was particularly urgent to take the road on the right, which led through fertile settlements and offered abundance of forage. Gates adhered to his resolution, reverted to his former self-delusions, and flattered the soldiers with the prospect of plentiful supplies which would be found on reaching the militia. The little corn found in the neighborhood of May's Mill was therefore collected, and the march on Camden continued.

On the afternoon of the 5th of August Gates received a letter from General Caswell, informing him of his intention to attack a fortified post of the enemy on Lynch's Creek, distant about fourteen miles from his camp. The commander-in-chief therefore immediately resumed his march, to effect a junction with the militia, and advanced with rapid pace. His troops suffered dreadfully, but the good example of the officers, who shared all their privations, repressed even the faintest signs of dissatisfaction. On the 6th of August, however, Gates received a second letter from Caswell, who had in the mean time discovered that the enemy threatened

to attack him, and begged for speedy succor. This sudden transition from the offensive to the defensive is no less characteristic of Caswell's incompetence and want of military judgment, than his vanity is revealed by the opening of the letter, which was delivered by General W., one of his aids. Gates rode over that same afternoon into Caswell's camp—where he found the officers at least living in abundance, and in all other respects an almost unparalleled state of confusion and disorder—and, having made the necessary arrangements, effected his junction with the North Carolina militia on the 7th of August, at the crossroads distant about fifteen miles from Lynch's Creek.[107]

This event raised the spirits of the whole army, the militia being reassured on the subject of a hostile attack, and the regulars, who forgot their privations and never dared to express the slightest dissatisfaction, being flattered at the confidence with which they inspired their new comrades. The officers, also, were on the best of terms, and General Caswell appeared to be entirely satisfied with the position assigned him, of third in command. He commanded the left wing, while Kalb was in charge of the right, composed of regulars. Having united about noon, the little army advanced a few miles further in the direction of the hostile post on Lynch's Creek, and then encamped according to regulations.

Colonel Williams, who was as solicitous for the welfare of the army as if he had been personally responsible for it, requested Lieutenant-colonel Ford, the officer of the day, to visit the guard with him at an unusual hour, in order to satisfy himself of the safety of the left wing. The guards and sentinels on the right wing were as vigilant as usual, and

saluted the round with that readiness which inspires a sense of security; but on the left wing all was silent. The patrolling officers were not once challenged, rode by the guards without being stopped, and found their way unobstructed even to the tents of generals and staff officers, some of whom complained of this unnecessary disturbance at an hour so unusual among gentlemen. The officers of the preceding day were called, and guards and patrols arranged, to secure the camp against surprise.[108]

On the morning of the 8th of August the enemy had disappeared. Under the guise of offensive movements, the officer commanding at Lynch's Creek had quitted this post, and skilfully withdrawn all his force unmolested to a much stronger position on Little Lynch's Creek. The latter was but a day's march from Camden, which, being the depot of provisions for the British troops scattered through the country, was strongly fortified and well garrisoned under Lord Rawdon. That general had been, since the beginning of June, in command of the advanced posts of the army, which were destined to invade North Carolina, and only kept back until the autumn by the heat and the want of provisions, while Lord Cornwallis, who, since the return of Sir Henry Clinton, had the command-in-chief of the four thousand English troops scattered over the Southern provinces, had his headquarters at Charleston. On receiving the news of the approach of the Americans under Gates, Lord Rawdon marched from Camden to meet them, took up a well-fortified position at the distance of about fourteen miles from that place, and called in the detachments which were scattered over the country to support the foraging parties sent to scour the land in all directions.[109]

Gates likewise directed his march upon Little Lynch's Creek. His situation was already desperate; he had no choice. To turn to the left, toward Black River, was no longer justifiable, because then Camden, with its hostile garrison, would have been interposed between the army and the reënforcements expected from Virginia, and because the North Carolina refugees could not then have been attached to the army. To advance on the right, by way of the flourishing settlements on the Waxhaw, was now out of the question, because a march to these regions, two or three days' journey away from the road, would have resembled a flight, and frightened off the volunteers from North Carolina. So the troops marched on without any fixed design being entertained, or any one knowing what was next to be done. Gates, however, began to reflect that it was dangerous to approach an enemy of whose strength he had no certain knowledge, and therefore ordered the heavy baggage, as well as a part of the women and children following the camp, back to Charlotte. On arriving at Little Lynch Creek he found the enemy posted south of the stream, on a height commanding the approaches. The road to it from the North led over a dam to the steep bank of a creek which wound its way through a deep, marshy bed, crossed by a wooden bridge. A broad marsh extended northward from the creek, which for miles could only be traversed in full view of the hostile works. The enemy showed no disposition to give up these advantages, without at least feeling the pulse of the assailants; and Gates saw that he must take the bull by the horns if he would attack him in front. Had he possessed sufficient military shrewdness, he would have turned Lord Rawdon's flank by a forced march up the creek, and entered

Camden unopposed, where the royal troops had then not yet found time to unite.[116] Instead of this he diverged from the straight road to Camden, turned to the right, and ordered Colonel Hall, with a body of about three hundred men, after having covered the left wing until it should be safe from surprise, to take up the rear of the column.

The English discovered this manœuvre in time, and thus had leisure to return to Camden unmolested on the 11th of August, where they were joined by the British garrison hitherto posted at Clermont, or Rugeley's Mills, on the northern road. Lord Rawdon concentrated all his forces at Camden, and fortified the place as strongly as possible, in hourly expectation of the arrival of Lord Cornwallis from Charleston. He had learned from his spies that General Stevens, with a brigade of Virginia militia, was on the way to reënforce Gates, and that Marion below Camden and Sumter above were calling the inhabitants to arms; in short, that in a few weeks the whole country would once more be arrayed against the British. He therefore suffered Gates to advance unmolested to Clermont, about thirteen miles north of Camden, where the Americans encamped on the 13th of August, and were joined on the 14th by the Virginia militia under Stevens.

While Gates lay at Clermont, he received a despatch from Sumter requesting reënforcements for his little troop, to enable him to intercept a train of goods on its way to Camden. Without a moment's hesitation the commanding general complied with this request, and, on the eve of a decisive struggle, when every man and every gun was certain to be needed, he detached Colonel Woolford, with four hundred men, one hundred of them being regulars, and two guns, to Sumter's assistance. This step admits of no explanation except the conjecture

that Gates expected Rawdon to evacuate Camden also, and offer no resistance anywhere. But even on that supposition he was not justified in weakening himself in the face of the enemy, so as to be unprepared for contingencies. His course was so much the more to be censured as the train would have been certain to fall into his hands at any rate if the anticipated battle should end in a victory, while, in case of defeat, it was equally sure to be recaptured from Sumter, even supposing the latter to be successful in taking it. This last was the contingency which actually occurred. Tarleton not only deprived Sumter of everything he had captured a mile from Camden, but also made prisoners of the greater part of Woolford's command.

By the junction with the Virginians, the main army had increased its numbers, but by no means its strength. The expected supplies, also, were not forthcoming. The friends of the American cause living in the vicinity of Camden were so much surprised by the sudden arrival of Gates' troops, whose approach on such secluded roads they had regarded as an impossibility, that they had not made the slightest preparations for the transportation of provisions and forage. Thus the army lived from hand to mouth, without any stock of necessaries. Stevens brought nothing except a few West India productions, particularly molasses. This was issued to the soldiers as a stimulant, in place of rum or whiskey, in consideration of the excessive fatigues encountered during the last two days. The consequence was that the men, who had subsisted almost exclusively on bread baked, or rather scorched, of half green corn, were seized with a violent diarrhœa on the very eve of the battle, so that whole ranks were constantly broken up on the march to Camden.

On the 15th of August Gates sent the sick, the heavy baggage, and all the camp equipage that could be spared, to Washaw. This order was unfortunately not executed in time, so that the baggage wagons fell into the hands of the enemy after the loss of the battle. On the same day the order for the march to Camden was issued, which was to be taken up at ten o'clock in the evening in the following order: The advance was formed by a part of Armand's legion, then came the cavalry under Colonel Armand himself, whose right and left flanks were covered by Colonel Potterfield and Major Armstrong with the light infantry, marching in Indian file at a distance of two hundred yards from the road. They were followed in regular order by the First and Second Maryland brigades and the North Carolina and the Virginia division, each command being preceded by its artillery. The rear was again covered by volunteer cavalry. In case of an attack by the enemy's cavalry in front, the light infantry on either flank were directed to advance immediately, and open a heavy fire, under cover of which Colonel Armand was to resist the attack, and, if possible, to drive the enemy. The troops were commanded, on pain of death, to march in profound silence.

On issuing this order, Gates was ignorant that Cornwallis had in the mean time reënforced Lord Rawdon at Camden; while, on the other hand, he regarded his own command as numbering seven thousand men. Adjutant-General Williams speedily undeceived him on this head, by showing, from the morning reports of the regiments, that on the morning of the 15th of August but 3,052 men were fit for duty. But before the approach of Lord Cornwallis was known, and before the true state of the forces could be submitted, Gates had called a council of war, and had laid his plan before them,

based on the erroneous estimate of his numbers. It would seem that no serious opposition was manifested, either because the majority of the officers considered the imaginary seven thousand men sufficient to overcome the British, or because the subordinate generals had satisfied themselves of the futility of any objections, even if ever so well founded, to the proposals of the commander-in-chief. Kalb alone was strenuously in favor of remaining at Clermont for the present, of still further fortifying this naturally strong position, which, according to the representations of Governor Nash, of North Carolina, a hundred men could have held against the whole British force, and of waiting for more definite information in regard to the enemy, who might possibly have been reënforced. He further showed that it would better suit the motley composition of the American army to act on the defensive, than to stake the result of the whole campaign on a single die, and adverted to the fact that the raw militia composing the bulk of the force, had never manœuvred together, and therefore could not be expected to form column, and still less to execute even more difficult movements at night.[111] A consultation, however, was not Gates' object; he merely wanted the sanction of his plan by the council, and caused it to be read without calling for a vote. In spite, therefore, of the ill feeling provoked by his conduct, which found expression after the close of the sitting, and in spite of the indignation of Colonel Armand, in being ordered, with his cavalry, to the front of an advancing column in the depth of night, a measure contrary to every principle of tactics, and in which that commander saw a piece of petty revenge and insult levelled at himself, the dispositions made by Gates were not departed from. The advice of the veteran trained in the school of Marshals Saxe and Loewen-

dal, and in the manifold experience of the Seven Years' War, remained unheard, and the army set out at the appointed hour, in order, as the commanding general fondly dreamed, to surprise the enemy at night and win an easy victory. According to Thatcher, Gates is said to have answered the remark of an officer, that possibly he might have Lord Cornwallis opposed to him, by saying that the English general would not dare to meet him face to face. When another officer, shortly before the march upon Camden, observed that he was curious to know where he could dine to-morrow, the confident general returned, "Dine, sir? why where but in Camden? I wouldn't give a pinch of snuff for the certainty of eating my beefsteak at Camden to-morrow, and seeing Lord Cornwallis my guest at the table." [112]

Henry Lee says of the too self relying Gates, in his Memoirs of the South: "Calculating proudly on the weight of his name, he appears to have slighted the perquisites to victory, and to have hurried on to the field of battle with the impetuosity of youth; a memorable instance of the certain destruction which awaits the soldier who does not know how to estimate prosperity. If good fortune begets presumption, instead of increasing circumspection and diligence, it is the sure precursor of deep and bitter adversity."

During these ill-considered preparations on the part of the Americans, Lord Cornwallis and Rawdon had been far from idle. The latter, evidently alarmed for the safety of his main position by the apparent confidence of the American general, no sooner saw the enemy advancing upon Camden, than he wrote to his superior for assistance and support. These despatches induced Cornwallis to leave Charleston on the 10th of August, and to reach Camden with his troops on the even-

ing of the 13th. He devoted the 14th to an examination of the position and strength of his forces, eight hundred of whom were lying in the hospital at Camden, and to inquiries into the condition and movements of the enemy, whose numbers were reported to him as running up to six thousand effectives. The English commander was shrewd enough to see that if he wished to preserve his communication with the sea, he must choose between retreating at once to Charleston or giving battle. Without a moment's hesitation he adopted the latter alternative.[113] For he would have been compelled to leave his sick behind him at Camden, and to have abandoned the entire province just conquered, if he had returned to Charleston without an engagement, while a battle could have led to such a result only in the most unfavorable contingency. To this must be added the discontent and sedition manifested not only in the country travelled by Gates, but also in the districts east of the Santee and west of the Wateree, against the newly-restored English supremacy, and which threatened to ripen into open rebellion on the approach of the American army, as well as of the partisan leaders Sumter and Marion. Not a moment was, therefore, to be lost; every delay could but increase the perils of the English army; a decisive encounter must be risked. Nothing but a victory could extricate him from his position. The more speedy the decision, the better the hope of success. Cornwallis, who reports the number of his own troops at 2,233 men, therefore resolved immediately to fall upon the enemy at his position near Clermont, or Rugeley's Mills, and gave the command to break camp at 10 o'clock P. M. of the 15th of August, in the hope of surprising him at daybreak of the 16th. His army took up their line of march in the following order: The leading

division, under Lieutenant-colonel Webster, consisted, in the first instance, of an advance of twenty troopers and an equal number of legionaries, who rested upon a company of light infantry, followed by the Twenty-third and Thirtieth regiments. The centre, under Lord Rawdon's command, was formed by the Irish volunteers, the infantry legion, Hamilton's North Carolina regiment, and Colonel Bryan's militia, composed of refugees. The reserve consisted of two battalions of the Seventy-first, while the dragoons of the legion brought up the rear. Four field-pieces were with the divisions of the front and centre, and two with the reserve.[114]

We have seen above that Gates struck his tents at the very same hour, also intending to surprise the English at Camden. Thus, by a singular coincidence, both these armies marched against each other at the same time, each ignorant of the designs of the other. The night was sultry, and the air as oppressively hot as in the daytime. The sky was clear and bright with stars. The sound of footsteps was stifled by the deep sand. As the entire distance between Clermont and Camden is but twelve or thirteen English miles, the British and Americans met half way at two o'clock in the morning, about half a mile north of Saunders' Creek. It was a glade in the pine forest, which fell off gently toward the creek, and was bounded on each flank by impenetrable marshes, leaving but little space for the formation of the troops. The Americans were apprised, by a pretty brisk skirmishing fire opened by the English legion, that they were within gunshot of the enemy. Some of Armand's troopers, wounded at the first discharge, fled hastily to the rear, and threw the whole legion into confusion. The latter fell back upon the front of the infantry, marching behind them, not only imparting their

own panic to the First Maryland brigade, but spreading universal terror through the army. The light infantry, on the contrary, under Major Porterfield, who was mortally wounded on the occasion, gallantly bore the shock of the English cavalry, and repulsed them by a well-sustained fire. The enemy appeared to be no less astonished at this sudden collision than the Americans, and both parties, as if by common consent, suspended hostilities until daybreak. On either side they availed themselves of the brief respite thus afforded, to ascertain the position and numbers of the enemy. On this occasion Adjutant-General Williams learned, for the first time, from some prisoners, that Lord Cornwallis himself was in command, that they numbered about three thousand, and that they were drawn up within five or six hundred yards of the American front.

Gates could not conceal his amazement at this news, and, as soon as order had been restored in the infantry, and the army formed in line of battle, he caused the adjutant-general to convoke a council of war. When Williams brought the invitation to General Kalb, and informed him of what had taken place, the latter inquired, "Well, did not the commanding general immediately order a retreat?" The generals and regimental commanders assembled in the rear of the American line, and received the unwelcome news. "You know our situation. What had we better do, gentlemen?" cried Gates. For a moment no one answered; then the brave but headlong Stevens broke the painful silence by exclaiming, "We must fight, gentlemen; it is not yet too late; we can do nothing else, we must fight!"[115] In such an exigency the counsel first given, be it good or bad, prudent or silly, is sure to be followed. The further it goes the less

will it be opposed, because in an assembly of mixed material, driven to an immediate decision, cool and quiet deliberation must always yield to the pressure of the moment, and reason give place to passion. It would seem as if each individual dreaded the responsibility, and, for that very reason, grasped the most extravagant opinion, if only uttered with an air of confidence, as if to show that he did not recoil at the most decided measures. Possibly, also, one or the other of the company may have considered courage the only requisite of a good soldier; in short, Stevens' proposal met with no opposition, and Gates gave the fatal order to attack by saying, "We must fight, then! Hasten to your posts, gentlemen."

According to some accounts Kalb advised a retreat to Clermont, there to await the enemy's attack, which led to an altercation between him and Gates, in the course of which the latter expressed doubts of his courage; but neither internal nor external reasons support this story. Gates himself was a man of too much refinement to have used such insulting expressions, even if he had entertained such an opinion. And then it is in keeping with Kalb's turn of mind, after his first suggestion of a retreat had been disregarded, to resign himself to the dictates of his superior, and not expend further solicitations on a general whose infatuation had shown itself quite incurable. Finally, we have the positive testimony of one who took an active part in all these transactions, in the narrative of Adjutant-General Williams, who expressly says that Kalb did not make the slightest objection to the proposal of General Stevens. There is no reason whatever to doubt the assertion of this most reliable witness, who repeatedly says that every word of his report,

which was written immediately after the occurrences took place, that he was prepared to make oath to the most minute details.

Be that as it may, the two armies were drawn up in line of battle before dawn.

The advantage of the ground was clearly on the side of Lord Cornwallis, because, where he stood, the marshes to the right and left of the road approached each other most nearly, and not only protected both his flanks, but more than countervailed the numerical superiority of the enemy. He formed his right wing of the front division of Lieutenant-colonel Webster, consisting of the light infantry and the Twenty-third and Thirty-third regiments, and his left wing of Lord Rawdon's division, the composition of which has already been given. The two divisions ranged themselves on the right and left of the road and of each other, so that the Thirty-third, Webster's left wing, occupying the right of the road, and the Irish Volunteer regiment, on Lord Rawdon's left, resting its left upon the road, together constituted the centre of the army. Two six-pounders and two three-pounders, under Lieutenant-colonel Macleod, of artillery, were posted in the front, and to the left of the road. The Seventy-first regiment was in the rear, its first battalion supporting the right, and its second the left wing. The cavalry under Tarleton was on the right of the road in the rear of both lines, and near the first battalion of the reserve, prepared, as circumstance might dictate, to assail the enemy, or come to the rescue of their own infantry.

On the American side Kalb was charged with the formation of the line. He took the command of the right wing, consisting of the Second Maryland brigade under General

Gist, and the Delaware regiment, and which, like the English left, rested its flank on a deep morass. The North Carolina militia under General Caswell formed the centre, and the Virginia militia under General Stevens the left, while the First Maryland brigade under General Smallwood occupied the second line as a reserve. Two pieces of artillery were planted on Gist's right flank, and two on the right and two on the left of the centre. Armand's mounted legion were to have covered the right flank of the American force, but they had been seized by a panic and had fled disgracefully at the first attack in the night, so that they were of no account in the formation of the line and the subsequent events of the day. This want of cavalry was destined to be but too severely felt in the course of the action.

The mere disposition of the two armies shows the advantages enjoyed in every respect by the British over the Americans. The front of Lord Cornwallis was strong not only in the personal valor of the troops, almost all belonging to the regular forces, and all of them veterans in comparison to the Americans, but also by the better distribution of the artillery; above all its reserve, and especially the reserve under Tarleton, was more reliable and better posted. This compact and war-worn line was opposed by raw militia, who had never seen an enemy, and who regarded the English troops, excellent as they were, with even greater awe than the facts warranted. Gates committed the additional blunder of posting the First Maryland brigade in reserve, instead of using the raw militia for that purpose, and of stripping his left wing of artillery. By these defects, partly inherent in the character of his troops, and partly arising out of his own lack of judgment, he more than neutralized the advantages

which would otherwise have accrued from the inferior numbers of Lord Cornwallis. Nay, not content with the errors already made, Gates, on seeing the position of the English in the morning, unexpectedly ordered a gap in the formation of the centre and right wing to be corrected, a measure doubly prejudicial in the presence of so well-disciplined a foe, and with such unskilled forces of his own.

Lord Cornwallis, indeed, was too experienced a commander not to avail himself of the chance thus brought under his very eyes. He hastened, on being apprised of this new mistake of his adversary, to his right wing, and personally ordered Colonel Webster to attack, sending the same command to Lord Rawdon by an aid.

Gates remained quiet, and seemed disposed to await the turn of events. His adjutant-general suggested that an immediate onset on the English while deploying, would inspire the militia with courage, and, if successful, exercise no little influence on the result. "That's right," cried the commander, who had evidently been at a loss what to do, "let General Stevens attack on the left immediately." The latter advanced boldly at first, but found the enemy already drawn up in line of battle. Williams now endeavored to draw their fire at the greatest possible distance, in order to make it less fearful to the militia, and for that purpose requested permission to take forty or fifty volunteers from General Stevens, with whom he advanced, but without attaining his object. The right wing of the English under Webster advanced at this moment in closed ranks, with such noise, hurrahs, and impetuosity upon the militia, just as the latter were changing their position, that they were thrown into confusion and seized by a panic, under the influence of which they threw away their

loaded pieces at the first fire of the English, and scattered in breathless flight. Prayers, entreaties, threats, and appeals to honor were alike unavailing. General Stevens vainly exhorted the fugitives to remember their bayonets; how could they remember them, when they had only received them the day before, and were entirely unacquainted with their use? The Virginians involved the North Carolina militia in the same disgraceful rout. The officers unfortunately were without cavalry to enforce their objurgations, and bring the runaways to a stand. It was not, properly speaking, a fight, but rather a chase and scamper, so that before the real engagement had commenced, the entire American centre and left wing, comprising two-thirds of their force, had disappeared from the scene of action, almost without firing a shot. Four hundred men of Dixon's regiment alone stood their ground somewhat longer, and fired once or twice on the enemy.[116]

Gates, who had taken his position some six hundred paces in rear of the line, to overlook the contest, had been carried along by the flying militia, and had left the field under the pretext of "bringing the rascals back into line," so that the command-in-chief devolved upon Kalb. The morning was so close and foggy that the smoke did not even rise, but enveloped both armies in a cloud. This made it difficult to survey the field, and obtain a clear idea of the progress of the battle. In consequence of the fog Kalb long remained ignorant of the flight of the left wing and centre; nevertheless he ordered up Smallwood with the reserve, and directed him to form a junction with Gist; the two brigades, however, were not large enough to fill up the interval between the marshes. While the First Maryland brigade moved

forward into line, the right wing under Kalb took up the unequal fight, and not only stood their ground, but successfully repulsed the impetuous onslaught of the foe, so that the struggle gradually extended along the whole line, and victory trembled in the balance. To bring matters to a speedy issue, Kalb ordered a bayonet charge by the right wing under his command, drove the enemy, and had just made a number of prisoners, when the left wing, overpowered by numbers and outflanked, was forced to fall back. They soon rallied and renewed the contest, but were again repulsed, and again led into action. The two brigades, in consequence of losses, and in the heat of the engagement, which gradually degenerated into a hand-to-hand scuffle, were separated by an interval of some six hundred feet. This was the turning-point of the battle, which was henceforth on the side of the English. Williams vainly endeavored to restore the connection. On reaching the right wing, he found the enemy just exchanging a heavy fire for a bayonet charge. Kalb fought at the head of the Maryland second brigade. Three times he had advanced, and three times retreated before the force of numbers, but on the whole he maintained his advantage. His horse had been shot under him, a sabre stroke laid open his head. Jaquette, the adjutant of the Delaware regiment, hastily bandaged the wound with his scarf, and besought his general to retire from the conflict. Instead of heeding this request Kalb led his Marylanders to the charge on foot. Over heaps of dead they went forth and back; his soldiers performed prodigies of valor, and contested every inch of ground. The enemy pressed upon them with ever increasing numbers, and forced them to give up the little advantage they had gained. The bloody fight was

hand to hand. At length Cornwallis, fearing to lose the advantages already gained, concentrated all his force upon this point, and when, at his order, a portion of Tarleton's troopers fell upon the decimated flanks of the brave men of Maryland and Delaware, the last faint hope of maintaining possession of the field had vanished. All that could be done was to rescue the honor of the flag. And once more Kalb, at the head of his faithful few, rushed upon the enemy; it was the last time that his powerful voice rang through the din of battle; the last time that, his sword pointing to the foe, he cheered his men, and drew them on to follow him. As he advanced he was struck by several balls, and the blood poured from him in streams; but he still had strength to cut down an English soldier, who had actually set a bayonet on his breast. Yet his hour had come. He was recognized by his epaulets. "The rebel general, the rebel general!" was heard in the English ranks. Mortally struck, and bleeding from eleven wounds, he sank exhausted to the earth.[117]

The fall of Kalb decided the fortunes of the day, for the Americans were now without a leader. True, the brigades of Gist and Smallwood formed once more, and advanced to the attack, repelling another charge of the English; but at this moment Cornwallis, incensed at this obstinate resistance, ordered his light cavalry to outflank the American left, and take them in the rear. This was done. The work begun by the bayonets of the British infantry was finished by the sabres of Tarleton's horse, who met with no resistance, owing to the want of cavalry on the side of the Continentals. The remnants of the Maryland brigades were soon dissolved in headlong flight. Nothing but the marshes on each side of

the battle-field afforded the fugitives some protection against the pursuit of Tarleton's dragoons. Not a battalion, not a company, preserved its formation. Gist, with about a hundred soldiers, alone retreated in something like order. Every command was broken up and scattered in the woods, and another victory so perfect as this was not achieved in the war of the revolution. Eight guns, two thousand stand of arms, twenty-two loads of ammunition, and one hundred and thirty baggage wagons, besides eighty thousand cartridges, fell into the hands of the victors, who reported their own loss at only sixty-eight killed, two hundred and forty-five wounded, and eleven missing—making a total of three hundred and twenty-four—while the adversaries estimate it at five hundred or even seven hundred killed.[118]

The loss of the latter could not be ascertained, on account of the hasty flight of the militia. Cornwallis himself supposes it to have amounted to over a thousand in dead and wounded, besides eight hundred prisoners; according to reliable American accounts the regulars had six hundred and fifty killed and wounded, being more than a third of the whole number; of the North Carolina militia a hundred had fallen, and three hundred had been taken prisoners; while the fleet-footed Virginians had wounded only, and no dead. The brave Delaware regiment was almost annihilated; the remnants barely sufficed to form a nucleus for two companies. Gist and Smallwood vainly endeavored to rally the militia on the road; they were obliged to continue their flight with a handful of regulars. Gates, who, as we have seen above, had hastened from the field at the beginning of the fight, must have had a strong and swift charger, for he slept that same evening at Charlotte, which is distant sixty miles from Camden.

But let us leave the general who flies from his troops, and turn to the hero who fell fighting to the last. We left him at the head of his command, bleeding from eleven wounds. Scarcely had his adjutant Dubuysson, seen him fall, when he threw himself upon him, and cried imploringly to the raging foe, "Spare and save the Baron de Kalb!" The faithful aid received with his own body the sabre-cuts intended for his superior. The British soldiers fell upon them both, seized the general, raised him to his feet, leaned him by his hands against a wagon, and stripped him to his shirt. As he stood in this miserable plight, with blood rushing from him in streams, Cornwallis came riding up with his suite.[119] "I regret," he said to his helpless adversary, "to see you so badly wounded, but am glad to have defeated you." He immediately ordered the prisoner to be properly cared for, and his wounds to be bandaged. From this moment the English treated the wounded man with that kindness and humanity which modern warfare vouchsafes to the conquered. ?

Kalb struggled with death for three days, and died the 19th of August at Camden, whither he had been carried after the battle. Dubuysson, whose wounds turned out not to be serious, was with him during this time, and was assisted by the English officers in soothing the last moments of the dying hero. Ali his thoughts were with the brave soldiers and officers of his division. Immediately before his death he requested Dubuysson to express to them his thanks for their valor, and to bid them an affectionate farewell. The letter to Generals Gist and Smallwood, in which the faithful adjutant executes this commission, is dated at Charlotte the 26th of August, 1780, and reads as follows:[120]

"Dear Generals: Having received wounds in the action of the 16th instant, I was made prisoner, with the Honorable

Major-General the Baron de Kalb, with whom I served as aide-de-camp and friend, and had an opportunity of attending that great and good officer during the short time he languished with eleven wounds, which proved mortal on the third day.

"It is with particular pleasure I obey the baron's last commands, in presenting his most affectionate compliments to all the officers and men of his division. He expressed the greatest satisfaction in the testimony given by the British army, of the bravery of his troops; and he was charmed with the firm opposition they made to superior force, when abandoned by the rest of the army. The gallant behavior of the Delaware regiment and the companies of artillery attached to the brigades, afforded him infinite pleasure. And the exemplary conduct of the whole division gave him an endearing sense of the merits of the troops he had the honor to command.'

Kalb was buried by his victorious adversaries, among whom there were many free masons, with military and masonic honors. Down to the year 1825 a solitary tree was all that marked his final resting-place.

Congress received, at the hands of Gates, the news of Kalb's heroic death. The stricken and humbled general spoke of his brave comrade with creditable candor, and warm admiration.

"Too much honor cannot be paid by Congress to the memory of the Baron de Kalb," he writes to Washington, in a letter of September 3, 1780; "he was everything an excellent officer should be, and in the cause of the United States has sacrificed his life." "Here I must be permitted to say," Gates continues on September 3d, in a letter to the President of Congress, "how much I think is due to the Baron de Kalb, and I am

convinced Congress will declare to the world the high estimation they have for his memory and services." [121]

Upon this impartial testimony, and the concurrent judgment of Washington, who declared that Kalb had fully justified the high opinion he had always entertained of him, and that his memory must ever be precious to a grateful country, Congress, on the 14th of October, 1780, resolved to commemorate the glorious example given by General de Kalb to his troops, by erecting at Annapolis, the capital of the State whose division he had commanded, a monument, with this inscription: [122]

"Sacred to the memory of the Baron de Kalb, Knight of the Royal Order of Military Merit, Brigadier of the Armies of France, and Major-General in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honor and reputation for three years, he gave at last a glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind and the cause of America, in the action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina, on the 16th of August, 1780, where, leading on the troops of the Maryland and Delaware lines against superiors numbers, and animating them by his example to deeds of valor, he was pierced with many wounds, and on the 19th following expired, in the 48th year of his age. The Congress of the United States of America in gratitude to his zeal, services and merit, have erected this monument."

The resolution was not executed. The cares of the day soon banished the memory of the fallen hero. The return of peace found an empty treasury, and the generation then entering into power had other interests. The matter gradually came to be forgotten, and *Kalb's national monument has never been erected.* (See APPENDIX, p. 326)

CHAPTER XII.

KALB'S APPEARANCE AND CHARACTER.—HABITS AND EDUCATION.—MARRIAGE.—CHILDREN AND GRANDCHILDREN.—THEIR FATES AND FORTUNES.—THEIR CLAIMS ON THE UNITED STATES, AND HOW THEY WERE DISPOSED OF.—KALB'S GRAVE AT CAMDEN.—WASHINGTON'S VISIT.—WHAT HE SAID ABOUT KALB.—THE CITIZENS OF SOUTH CAROLINA DETERMINE UPON THE ERECTION OF A MONUMENT OVER THE GRAVE.—DEDICATED BY LAFAYETTE IN 1825.—SOLEMNITIES AND ORATIONS.—RETROSPECT OF KALB'S LIFE.—THE PRODUCT OF MORBID POLITICAL CONDITIONS.—HIS EXTRACTION.—STATE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS IN BAYREUTH.—REHASH OF FRENCH MISRULE.—MARGRAVE FREDERIC.—EXTRAORDINARY EXPENSES.—MARTIAL TOMFOOLERY AND KIDNAPPING.—ENGLISH SUBSIDIES.—NARROW SPHERE.—IMPOSSIBILITY OF ACTIVE LIFE FOR A MAN OF KALB'S TURN OF MIND.—PASSAGE FROM SCHILLER'S PLAY OF "KABALE AND LIEBE."—THE DIVISION OF GERMANY INTO PETTY PRINCIPALITIES EXCLUDES THE IDEA OF NATIONAL PRIDE.—DRIVES THE MOST ENEGETIC MEN OUT OF THE COUNTRY.—JEAN PAUL.—FRENCH ABSOLUTISM.—MORE IMPOSING THAN THAT OF THE PUNY PRINCIPALITIES.—ADMITS OF RIVALRY AMONG THE GIFTED.—IN FRANCE KALB ENJOYS ALL THE IMMUNITIES OF A NATIVE.—THE REASON OF THE LIBERALITY EXERCISED BY ABSOLUTE GOVERNMENTS IN THIS RESPECT.—ABSOLUTISM EXTINGUISHES ALL DIFFERENCES OF NATIONALITY.—COMPARISON OF THE MONEYED ARISTOCRACY OF THE PRESENT DAY WITH THE ARISTOCRACY OF BIRTH OF THE PAST CENTURY.—KALB AND LAFAYETTE.—THE LAST OF THE SOLDIERS OF FORTUNE AND THE LAST OF THE KNIGHTS-ERRANT.—THEIR AIMS.—KALB NOT ACTUATED BY MEAN OR VULGAR MOTIVES.—HE DEVOTES HIMSELF UNRESERVEDLY TO THE CAUSE IN WHICH HE HAS ENLISTED.—ONLY TWO IMMIGRANT GENERALS FALL IN THE STRUGGLE.—KALB AND MONTGOMERY.—THE GERMAN SAVES THE HONOR OF THE AMERICAN ARMS.—GERMANY MAY CLAIM HIM AS HER OWN AS WELL AS FRANCE AND AMERICA.—THE SON OF THE PEASANT OF HUETTENDORF IS NOT THE LAST AMONG ITS HEROES.

KALB'S exterior was highly prepossessing, his frame strong and well-built, and his air at once mild and

dignified. A keen hazel eye, which beamed forth frankly and kindly from under a high forehead, a nose slightly aquiline, a mingled trait of good nature and shrewdness about the mouth, and a double chin of respectable proportions, stamped his mien with more of the reflective and calculating expression of the diplomatist, than of the rigid, unbending type of the soldier. "In form and feature,"—such is the testimony of his aide-de-camp, Nicholas Rogers, of Baltimore,[122] —he was a perfect Ariovistus, more than six feet tall, and proof against the greatest hardships of his calling. He often made twenty or thirty miles a day on foot, and preferred walking to riding on horseback whenever he could." Owing to his mode of life his health was truly remarkable. To great temperance and caution he united extraordinary patience. Suffering and privations he endured without a murmur, and could bear up for days under hunger and thirst, heat and cold, without permitting a sigh to escape his lips. He slept as well upon his knapsack and under his cloak, as on a downy pillow; in short, he possessed all the physical power and endurance essential to our conception of a hero. He was always considered younger than he really was. At his death Congress rated him at eight and forty, when in truth he was in his sixtieth year.

During the American war Kalb usually rose before daybreak, often at four o'clock in the morning, worked until nine, and then breakfasted on bread and water. After continuing his labors till noon, he rode or walked out, went to headquarters, inquired the news of the day, and then dined. His meal consisted simply of soup, vegetables, and meat; he drank only water. The afternoon he devoted to the service or to writing letters. Owing to an affection of the eyes

he rarely worked by candle-light, but retired to rest at an early hour, so as to be able to rise the earlier in the morning. Sharing with his subordinates all the hardships of the service, he could draw upon their zeal to almost any extent. All who knew him esteemed him for his unpretending affability; his soldiers loved and revered him as a father.

Kalb was single-hearted and honest. Endowed with sound common sense, and a judgment at once clear and strong, he had the happy faculty of habituating himself without constraint to the most unwonted circumstances, and combined untiring industry with a rigid sense of duty, very rare at that period, especially in France. By no means a genius, or a man of vast or comprehensive aims, he even shows occasional signs of that petty punctiliousness which has since received the appellation of old fogyism. Yet he was ambitious, enterprising, and energetic; and stopped at no sacrifice to achieve renown, distinction, or advancement. From his earliest youth he had had nothing save his mother wit to pit against the lions that beset his path; and hence he had involuntarily imbibed a degree of habitual pliancy and subordination to the powers that be. For this reason he was not one of those who who make their demands in a haughty tone, and assert their will in disregard of all obstacles. His was a more calculating disposition, which apparently yielded to surrounding forces, in order, in point of fact, to control them the more effectively. This phase of his character is displayed most clearly in his intercourse with the Broglie brothers, who were his faithful friends and patrons, but who never bestowed their favor on any one who did not recognize their will as law. The courtly tone then in vogue among French officers is the key to this trait of

Kalb's character, but it must be said in his honor that he never resorted to base means to compass his ends.

His best virtues, however, were his self-possession and his unvarying caution. As in his private affairs he considered every plan in all its bearings, before carrying it into execution, as he meditated for days and weeks on the advantages and disadvantages of a contemplated investment or improvement of his estate, so he was conscientious and wary in his military movements, weighing in golden scales the chances of every undertaking, trusting nothing to chance, and entering upon no venture which did not promise almost certain success. Thoroughly cognizant of the weak points of the American army, he was always for defensive measures, and frequently offended those who differed with him by the cogency of his reasoning, which was almost invariably borne out by the event. In the Seven Years' War his illustrious opponent, the Duke of Brunswick, had taught him to be on his guard; and he did not hesitate to apply the results of that experience to the American war, where he found himself pitted against two of the duke's best scholars, General Knyphausen and Lord Cornwallis. This full measure of caution in public matters found a counterpart in his private affairs in a degree of frugality which sometimes bordered closely on parsimony.

Where Kalb acquired his education, is a question not to be answered from the data at command. That he was self-taught, is very perceptible in his writings; yet his sphere of ideas was extensive and his mind versatile, and far in advance of the average of the military officers of his day. As was to be expected, he spoke and wrote French like a native. How far he was master of the German is not to be ascertained, because not a line written in that language was to be found

among his papers. His English style, though the use of the language gave him no difficulty, is not a little rugged. His handwriting is firm and smooth, and shows that he has written not a little. Even with the ancient classics he was familiar; and his thorough knowledge of engineering and topography is proved by the length of time he practised these important branches of the military art, and his position in the staff of the commander-in-chief. To this was added immense practical experience; for he had made his first campaigns under the Marshals Loewendal and Saxe, the first masters of their time; and had afterward extended the knowledge thus acquired, under Marshal Broglie, during the whole of the Seven Years' War. It may fairly be said, that of all the foreign officers who lent their swords to the struggling republic, not even Steuben excepted, Kalb was the most experienced, the most calculating, and the most circumspect commander.

Kalb's marriage, as above remarked, was remarkably happy. His affection for his wife was at once earnest and playful, and a perfect reflex of the character of a true German, who seeks his chief pleasure and entire satisfaction, next to his participation in public affairs, in his wife and children. These beautiful family-ties appear to increased advantage when contrasted with the debauched and heartless tone of the court and nobility, with the lasciviousness of a Dubarry and the crowned and highborn rakes, who could see nothing in an unbroken marriage vow but a target for ribaldry. The most unlimited confidence continued to subsist between Kalb and his wife up to the moment of his death. She was his best of friends to whom he communicated everything that befell him, even to what would seem to be the most trivial occurrence. From America he wrote to her almost daily. His letters,

which often fill twenty or thirty pages, and which treat almost exclusively of personal and family matter, number ninety-one in a period of about forty months; and most of them were written in duplicate and triplicate. While he is thus confidential and explicit, she also loves to tell him of every household event at Paris and at Milon, to consult him as to alterations and improvements in houses and lands, and to enlarge upon the progress made by the children in their studies. Plans for the welfare of the boys, preparations for their entrance into the French army, the education of their daughter and her physical development—constitute the topics of extended and reiterated discussion in this correspondence between husband and wife.

Kalb left three children.[124] The eldest son, Frederic, was born the 18th of May, 1765, in Paris, educated at the famous military school of the German poet Pfeffel at Kolmar, and had hardly passed his sixteenth year before he entered the German regiment Salm-Salm, in the French service. At the breaking out of the revolution he joined the royalist refugees, and served as an officer in the corps formed by the Prince of Condé on the Rhine. The estates of the family having been confiscated in consequence of his emigration and taking up arms against his country, he returned to France, and claimed to be restored to them on the ground that he had owed no allegiance, because a foreigner. Of this ingenious plea, coming from a native of France and the son of a French officer, the Convention manifested their appreciation by handing him over to the guillotine in 1793. He had inherited the American order of the Cincinnati, established after the death of his father, and which, by the canons of the order, vested in the eldest son of a deceased member or officer who would have been entitled to membership, if living.

Kalb's second child was a daughter, Anna Maria Caroline, born May 25, 1767, who was married, on the 23d of October, 1787, to John Lucas Geymueller, a Swiss captain in the service of France, outlived her husband and died as his widow January 24, 1829. Two sons were the issue of this marriage, the younger of whom, Lucas, born in 1792 and deceased in 1846, left several children.

The second son of our hero, Elie, was born March 9, 1769, and died September 7, 1835, at Milon la Chapelle. The revolution found him in the French regiment Royal Deuxponts, when he emigrated, and entered, as a private, the company formed by the refugee princes of the officers of the regiments Deuxponts and la Mark. On the utter failure of the royalist schemes he spent some time in Switzerland and among his connections in Franconia. About the close of the century we find him in Austria, where, under the name of Elias von Kell, he served, first in the Tyrolese rifles, and subsequently received a lieutenant's commission in the regiment Erbach. In 1802 he resigned, and returned to France on the strength of the amnesty then granted.[126] During the empire he took no part whatever in public affairs; under the restoration he accepted one or two parish offices, but otherwise lived in unbroken retirement during the rest of his days on the estate of Milon la Chapelle, which had been restored to him. His marriage, contracted the 8th of February, 1808, with Elise Signard, was blessed with two children, one of whom, a son named Theophile, died shortly after his birth in 1809, while the other, a daughter, Leonora, born June 11, 1811, on the 26th of June, 1828, espoused the Marquis Raymond de Vaudière, Vicomte d'Alzac, and became the mother of five children. This granddaughter of Kalb, who still survives, owns

and occupies the family homestead of Milon. The direct male line of the old hero is, it thus appears, extinct.

Kalb and his widow lived in ease and affluence. In consequence of the French revolution, however, the family lost almost all their property; and although they subsequently recovered their estate of Milon, they never regained their former opulence. In 1784 and 1785 Madame de Kalb presented to Congress her claims for the arrears due her husband, but they were rejected on the ground of some omission in matters of form. In 1819 the heirs, having become impoverished, were naturally led to renew the application, petitioning the Federal Government not only for the liquidation of the back pay of their grandfather, but also for the seven years' half-pay voted them by the resolution of Congress passed the 24th of August, 1780, as well as for the bounty in land coming to every revolutionary general. The last request was at once granted, and in 1822 the petitioners received a grant of parcels Nos. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 10 in the first quarter, and Nos. 25, 30, 35, and 36 in the third quarter of the tenth township of the fourth range in the then military district of Ohio, and in the present counties of Holmes and Tuscarora. This tract, which at the present day would form a possession of immense value, was sold, a few years afterward, for State taxes which the heirs had failed to pay, and was entirely lost to them, as they neglected to redeem it from the purchaser.[136] Their other claims on Congress, on the other hand, were full thirty-six years in coming to a satisfactory conclusion. The books of the Secretary of War showed that at his death Kalb was entitled to $2,433.61 of undrawn pay. In the same books, however, he was charged with $226,000 in paper money (or about $2,500 in gold), which he had re-

ceived in May, 1780, before his march to the South, for the subsistence and clothing of the troops under his command. The vouchers for the proper disbursement of these funds were not forthcoming, as most of Kalb's papers and all his baggage had fallen into the hands of the English when he was killed. While no doubt was entertained of his having expended the money in the public service, the absence of these documents obstructed the final settlement of the account for more than a generation. Thus it happened that, fully acknowledging the justice of the claims of Kalb's heirs, Congress nevertheless refused to liquidate them, and passed votes to this effect in the years 1819, 1821, 1836, and 1837.[197] When it is considered that this body is almost entirely renewed every two years, and that during the period referred to it was beset with hundreds of revolutionary claims of this character, this reluctance and circumspection is not without plausibility; still, the case of Kalb was a highly exceptional one, and might well have been disposed of by a special enactment. Be that as it may, it was on the 8th of March, 1842, that the House Committee on Revolutionary Claims made their report in favor of the heirs of Kalb, and fixed the sum to which they were entitled at $90,531.61, which they recommended to be paid with interest from 1810, the year in which the claim had been first presented. Even then the non-concurrence of the Senate and the early close of the session prevented an adjustment, and twelve further years elapsed before the 6th of February, 1854, when Mr. Corwin again took up the report above mentioned, and adopted its suggestions. The House was unanimous in its favor. The bill reached the Senate on the 18th of December, 1854. Here a mistake of $24,513.85 was detected in favor of the

claimants; but, after deducting that amount, it was unanimously adopted, and the sum of $66,099.76, without interest, was ordered to be paid in full of all demands.[128] The House concurred in the amendment, and the bill soon after received the signature of the President. It is but fair to record that the Senators and Representatives from Delaware and Maryland, the two States whose troops had been under Kalb's command, and those of South Carolina, on the soil of which he had fallen, were especially solicitous about the final settlement of the claims of his heirs, and that the favorable result attained is mainly due to their unceasing efforts.

While the Congressional resolution of the 14th of October, 1780, is still awaiting its realization, and while no steps were ever taken for the erection of the monument at Annapolis, the State of South Carolina did not permit the year 1825 to pass away without giving a fitting expression to its sentiments of gratitude for the departed hero.

As stated in the foregoing chapter, a tree was for years the only monument of the resting-place of Kalb's last remains. This spot was the most important memento of the Revolution of which Camden could boast, and travellers rarely failed to visit the grave. It is to be found in the grass plot opposite the Presbyterian Church in De Kalb Street. "So here lies the brave de Kalb," said Washington, when standing on this spot in the spring of 1791, "the generous stranger who came from a distant land to fight our battles, and to water with his blood the tree of our liberty. Would to God he had lived to share with us its fruits!" And immediately before the same occasion,[129] when invited by the citizens of Camden to visit their town, he addressed them in the following words, which briefly and vigorously

express Washington's opinion of our hero: "Your grateful remembrance of that excellent friend and gallant officer, the Baron de Kalb, does honor to the goodness of your hearts. With your regrets I mingle mine for his loss, and to your praise I join the tribute of my esteem for his memory."

At the opening of the third decade of the present century, the inhabitants of Camden, and especially the Free Masons, of which fraternity Kalb had been a member, conceived the design of erecting a monument over his grave. The call issued by them met, throughout the State, with the most enthusiastic reception and encouragement; almost every citizen of South Carolina furnished his contribution. In 1825, although the requisite funds were not all collected, such progress had been made that General Lafayette, then on his visit to the United States, could be requested to lay the corner-stone.

The invitation was accepted with great alacrity. On the 8th of March, 1825, he arrived at Camden, and was received with public solemnities. The addresses made by and to him are extant; we extract the passages having special reference to Kalb, and to the inauguration of the monument.[130]

"Your visit to Camden," General Nixon said, addressing himself to Lafayette, "excites sublime emotions; we live over, in fancy, the scenes of its early history; though no splendid edifices, no 'gorgeous temples,' no 'cloud-capped' turrets meet your eye, still there are associations connected with it more imposing than them all. It is seated on classic ground. Its haunts are consecrated by the shades of heroes; its plains honored by their dust. Monuments of the Revolution on all sides remind us of the deeds of our fathers. In its bosom reposes General de Kalb, your friend and companion in arms.

Inspired with a holy enthusiasm in the cause of freedom and mankind, he buffeted with you the storms of a perilous ocean. With you, he first touched American soil in Carolina, and doubly sanctified it by his *first visit* and his *last sigh;* and you are now, in your old age, to deposit a stone over his ashes, which will speak to coming years. I know, sir, it will afford you a melancholy pleasure to pause and drop a tear at the hero's grave; his spirit and your Washington's will commune with you there."

Lafayette replied: "The congratulations of my friends on this happy visit to the State of South Carolina, cannot at any time or place be more affecting and honorable to me, than when offered by you, sir, in the name of the citizens of Camden and its vicinity, on this classic ground where, in several battles, my revolutionary brethren have fought and bled; and where, even on unlucky days, actions have been performed which reflect the highest honor on the name of which we are so justly proud, the name of an *American soldier.* Such have been, sir, the able conduct as a commander, the noble fall as a patriot, of General de Kalb. Among my obligations to you, I gratefully acknowledge your kindness in associating me to the tribute paid to the memory of a friend, who, as you observe, has been the early confidant and companion of my devotion to the American cause."

The monument was inaugurated at noon of the succeeding day, the 9th of March, 1825. The procession was headed by volunteer soldiery, followed by the Kershaw Lodge of Free Masons of the town and vicinity. Then came the hearse with the ashes of Kalb. Six revolutionary officers bore the pall; a war horse was led after them. General Lafayette and suite, revolutionary soldiers, the civil authorities and some of

the leading corporations of Camden, brought up the rear. At the grave the remains of Kalb were inearthed with Masonic ceremonies, after which A. Blanding, Esq., the Superintendent of Public Buildings, addressed General Lafayette in some brief remarks.

"Your fellow-citizens," he says, "who have contributed to the erection of this monument, request that you will place this stone over the remains of Major-general Baron de Kalb. To no hand can this office be so properly assigned as to yours. You reached our shores together, brethren in arms and friendship, actuated by the same honorable and disinterested motives, and, as fellow-soldiers, supporting in the field the cause of freedom, when our country, struggling for independence, most needed your aid. You, General, have survived to witness the result of these labors in the happiness and prosperity of a widely-extended republic, whose liberal institutions are supported by a people wise and virtuous enough for self-government, and who have thus confirmed the fond hopes of your hearts, that the blood of the rebellion should not be shed in vain. The General whose remains lie before us, was deprived of this enviable lot. He viewed in prospect only, the consequences of the conflict in which he so generously engaged, and nobly fell combating the oppressors of our country. His life was the glorious sacrifice he offered to secure our republican institutions; and this the manner in which we manifest our gratitude. May that union which has arisen out of the Revolution which you and he and your companions in arms achieved, be perpetual as the granite which here commemorates his heroic virtues."

To which the General replied:

"The honor now bestowed upon me I receive with the

mingled emotions of patriotism, gratitude, and friendship, and like other honorable duties which await me in the more northern part of the Union, I consider it as being conferred on the revolutionary army in the person of a surviving general officer.

"In that army, sir, which offered a perfect assemblage of every civil and military virtue, Major general Baron de Kalb has acted a conspicuous part. His able conduct, undaunted valor, and glorious fall in the first battle of Camden, form one of the remarkable traits of our struggle for independence and freedom. He was cordially devoted to our American cause, and while his public and private qualities have endeared him to his contemporaries, here I remain to pay to his merits on this tomb, the tribute of an admiring witness, of an intimate companion, of a mourning friend."

After this, Lafayette proceeded to lay the corner-stone of the monument, which was not completed for some time afterward. The base is formed of twenty-six massive blocks of granite. Twenty-four of them bear, respectively, the names of the twenty-four States then composing the Union; the twenty-fifth has the inscription, "*Fœdus esto perpetuum;*" and the twenty-sixth covers the ashes of the deceased. The monument itself consists of an obelisk of white marble fifteen feet high. On the side which fronts south, on De Kalb street, are the words, "Here rest the remains of Baron de Kalb, a German by birth, a cosmopolitan in his principles." On the north side, the inscription is: "In gratitude for his zeal and services, the citizens of Camden have erected this monument." *East side:* "His love of Liberty induced him to leave the Old World to aid the citizens of the New in their struggle for Independence.

His distinguished talent and many virtues weighed with Congress to appoint him *Major-General* in their revolutionary army." *West side:* "He was second in command in the battle fought near Camden on the 16th of August, 1780, between the British and Americans, and there nobly fell, covered with wounds, while gallantly performing deeds of valor in rallying the friends and opposing the enemies of his adopted country." [131]

How far the facts bear out the poetical license of this epitaph, the reader will have decided for himself from the perusal of the foregoing pages. The question presents itself, however, whether the motives of Kalb's action, as we understand them, impair his title to the gratitude of the American people, and to an honored niche in the fane of history? The answer will best be made from another brief retrospect of his life, which, the more it is examined in the light of his time and of the ideas by which that time was guided, becomes more and more divested of its adventurous aspect, and stands disclosed as the product of morbid political conditions.

Kalb was a native of a little German territory of the fifth magnitude. At the time of his birth the principality of Brandenburg-Bayreuth, containing about 1,456 square miles, and one hundred thousand inhabitants, did homage to the margrave George William.[132] It yielded him a revenue of some two hundred thousand dollars, being about the annual income of a wealthy New York or London merchant. The rights of his subjects consisted, substantially, in the good pleasure of their lord and master, who, of course, looked to Versailles for his models, and revered the roués of the regency as his preceptors in the arts of living and of government. If anything distinguished the German prince

from the Parisian noble, it was an occasional freak of gluttony relieving the routine of super-refined luxuries. The species "homo" was never recognized as existing in any variety lower than that of the noble. The last but one of the margraves of Anspach-Bayreuth amused his mistress one day by shooting a chimney-sweep from his roof. She had expressed a curiosity to see a man come down head foremost. The widow of the murdered man appealed to his charity, and, in a moment of patriarchal benevolence, he indemnified her with the gift of two dollars.[133] When the native gentry would not suffice, French adventurers and vagabonds were imported to bring the splendor of the court upon an equality with those of neighboring potentates. George William's successor, the margrave Frederic (1735 to 1763), known as the husband of the great Frederic's sister, whose accession coincides with Kalb's departure from his dominions, is a choice specimen of the race of petty magnates then maltreating the German people.[134] That the expenses of his household exceeded those of his brother-in-law, is of comparatively little moment, as the personal wants of the great king were never equal to the salary of the margrave's chief cook or principal dancer; but that the latter could equal, if not excel, all the apes of the Sybaritism of Louis XV., is of no little consequence in view of the number of his competitors in Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Wurtemberg, and of the narrow limits of his domain. If, then, this contempt of all that was of native growth, and especially of the native people, could thus display itself at a time when the victories of Frederic the Great had revived the self-respect of Germany, how degrading and demoralizing must have been the yoke on the necks of earlier generations!

And what more natural than that "the classes designed by Providence for servitude" should take flight from the body of this political and moral death!

That two hundred thousand dollars failed to defray the expenses incident to such a system of government, requires no demonstration. Extraordinary revenues had to be provided. A favorite resource of this description was the practice of hiring out the soldiers of the State—of which, in 1730, Bayreuth had two regiments of infantry, a body of hussars, and a mounted body-guard—to the maritime powers, Holland and England, upon a valuable consideration, which the phraseology of the times adorned with the title of a subsidy. The margraves of Bayreuth and Anspach engaged extensively in this lucrative business, which yielded them enormous sums for the support of their mistresses and dancers. Thus, during the American Revolution, England paid for the use of 1,644 men of Anspach and Bayreuth—including a young lieutenant named Gneisenau, afterward so famous as a Prussian field-marshal—the sum of £305,400, or about $1,527,000.[135]

Had Kalb remained at home, his birth and lineage would have hopelessly excluded him from any career of military ambition higher than that of a corporal in one of the two regiments of his liege lord. Perhaps the latter would have sent him into foreign parts, like so many of his neighbors before and after him. Among the Anspach prisoners taken at Yorktown are two privates of the name of Kalb. Possibly they were nephews of the general! Or, more probably, our hero would have imitated the forward boys of whom the chamberlain tells Lady Milford, in Schiller's "Love and Intrigue,"[136] that they stepped forward and asked the colonel

what the prince asked for a yoke of men. "But," the narrator continues, "our most gracious prince caused all the regiments to be paraded, and the blusterers to be shot. We heard the crack of the rifles, and saw their brains spattering on the pavement, and the whole army shouted, 'Hurrah for America!'" There is no poetical license here. In these matters his most serene highness was not at all to be trifled with; every soldier who showed the slightest disposition to resist was handcuffed and shot down on the spot. At all events, Kalb's sound sense and independent way of thinking would have kept him off the list of those well-affected soldiers of Bayreuth, who, after having mutinied on the march to America, and fired upon their officers, burst into tears at the sight of the potentate's august person, and marched quietly away.[127]

A State in duodecimo, like the Bayreuth of that period, where the individual has no attraction but that of brute force to fasten him to the body politic, where the inhabitants have not a single higher interest in common, and where the payment of taxes and blind obedience are the sum of human life—a parish pound like this is not a country, and can never arouse the sentiment of patriotism or national honor. In such a spot, woe to the unfortunate who even dares to think! His convictions will either involve him in hopeless collisions with the existing powers, or banish him from the threshold of his youth, to find elsewhere a scope for his energies. It is the same love of action, so shamefully fettered at home, which to this day drives so many of the flower of the German youth from the home of their fathers into foreign lands. The captivity of the German mind in the manacles of these petty despots is best depicted in the sublimated schoolmas-

ters and sickly Titans of a fellow-countryman of Kalb's—Jean Paul, "the Jeremiah of his people." Kalb's rupture with Bayreuth, America has, at all events, no reason to deplore.

The French absolutism of the day was precisely identical in substance with that of Germany, its undoubted offspring; but its exterior was more grand and imposing. Even at this time the same relation subsists between France and Germany as has obtained for two hundred years. The German of the present day enjoys a larger measure of personal and political liberty than the Frenchman under Louis Napoleon; but while the national force of Germany is broken, and its living energies frittered away in consequence of the division into petty principalities, the French subject takes comfort at the thought that he is feared abroad, and that his country is the political arbiter of Europe. A State of thirty-six millions of inhabitants of a single nationality finds work to do for every able man, be he of native or of foreign birth, be he trained in the arts of peace or in those of war. It rouses the ambition and energy of the individual, and provokes that keen encounter of the wits which precedes every great exploit and brilliant success. A pigmy kingdom, on the other hand, must not, for its own safety, suffer any greatness to flourish; it is itself a caricature, an object of contempt and derision to all who are not themselves its victims.

No sooner had Kalb made his way into the French service, than his chances of success and advancement were the same with those enjoyed by the natives of the country. The Bourbons even favored the foreign regiments, which, as we have seen in the second chapter, they drew from every nation, regarding them as affording, in case of need, a pro-

tection against their own people—a forethought partly justified at the breaking out of the French revolution. The absolutism of the eighteenth century made use of every instrument that came to its hand, never stopping to inquire into origin or character. Implicit obedience was the one thing needful; by whom that obedience was rendered was of no sort of consequence. The despotism of that century was, in this respect, less prejudiced and more liberal than most of the democratic republics of our day, because it never considered any interests except its own; while every citizen of a republic is prone to imagine that it is in part the function of his Government to furnish him or his connections with office, and therefore to draw distinctions calculated to reduce the number of competitors.

The idea of nationality had scarcely been conceived at that time; the omnipotence of Government obliterated all varieties of language and extraction. The feudal traditions were melted in the whiter heat of centralized power. Hence arose the tendency of the foreign nobility to migrate to France, and the corresponding disposition of the French gentry to seek their fortunes abroad.

Kalb accordingly did no more than to conform to the prevailing practice in going where the regular migratory current of his countrymen led the way; indeed, he had a stronger inducement than most of them, as his birth cut off all hope of a successful career at home. To understand this state of things most thoroughly, the titled orders of the last century should be compared with the heavy speculators of the present. The great merchant, also, has no country. He is as ready to remove from Hamburg to San Francisco, or from New York to Shanghai and Calcutta, as a nobleman

of that period was to quit the service of France or Sweden for that of the emperor or the sultan. Honor and renown are the pursuit of the one; wealth and fortune, which confer power and influence, are the quest of the other. Titles and capital are at home wherever any conquest is to be made of lands or honors, money or power; they renounce their nationality without a pang, and sometimes even change their religion for the sake of preferment. Who, for instance, could name the country of the Rothschilds? They are entirely denationalized. Many of these titled and untitled Argonauts return from their expeditions, while others take root in the soil of their adoption, and still others flit for a time from port to port before reaching their permanent destination. As every modern seaport has its pioneers of commerce, who fail in engrafting themselves on the stock of the mercantile hierarchy, and who "never make anything," because lacking either in pliancy or discretion, but who, at the same time, are not to be extinguished by any amount of ill luck, and as these crusaders of profit, who are only at ease in the fiercest struggles of the market, often accidentally become the lights of a new phase of the history of trade, or, at least, thrust the age a step in advance of where they found it, so the last century had its military adventurers, refugees to-day and prime-ministers to-morrow, who conquered a throne at the sword's point only to exchange it for a debtor's prison; modern knights-errant, who subjugated whole kingdoms, and, though they perished miserably, yet lived to inaugurate historical developments. Characters of this last description form the exception, not the rule; but they spring from the common origin of old tradition and immemorial custom, and bear the most marked impress of

their time. These paladins of the sword are the last de scendants of the knights-errant and condottieri of the Middle Ages. This is the spirit that drives them over the world, not, as modern enthusiasts are apt to imagine, on a philosophical search for the best of governments, or with the design to devote their swords to the greatest good of the greatest number, but generally without any settled purpose, bent upon an active life and the acquisition of fame and fortune.

It is the characteristic of great historical epochs, that no one can refuse to be concerned in them, that the individual is drawn, consciously or unconsciously, into the circle of their influence, and forced, often contrary to his character and disposition, to wear their livery. Kalb was such an offspring of his age, and his companion Lafayette was no less so. The same ship, named as if in commemoration of their common purpose, "*la Victoire*," which brought them to the new world, brought the last of the condottieri, and the last of the knights-errant; and without them, be it well observed, the triumph of the new system would have been impossible. Both mean to fight for the republic, and both, though actuated by different motives, stake their lives on the issue. The younger voyager, the knight-errant, yearns for the fairest of the fair, the Dulcinea which the sentimentalists of Europe then sought in the backwoods of America, under the names of Nature, Liberty, and the Rights of Man. The elder has more of reality in his projects, and is satisfied with the consciousness of action and enterprise, without much caring for its ultimate purpose. Neither of them attained the goal of his desires. The one was fortunate in gaining the friendship of the greatest and best of Americans, who, himself a model

of all the finest graces of the Teutonic character, corrected the young Frenchman's volatile ambition, and enabled him to become "the hero of two continents." The other fell nobly fighting on the field of the soldier's honor, happy in the accident which identified this honor with the interests of freedom. The struggling colonies were always of secondary importance to his ambition; they furnished Kalb with the opportunity to display his devotion to the French king, from whom he expected more substantial reward and recognition of his efforts in their behalf. In his eyes they were but the steps of the ladder of fame and distinction on which he desired to mount for the purpose of achieving in France still higher honors and benefit.

Kalb was a soldier, and in every respect a man of honor in the military sense and spirit of his time. If his motives have been variously misconstrued and distorted, the fault lies not with him, but with the unsound idealism of his contemporaries. He had no predilection for the service of the foreign flag; but he performed his whole and full duty as a man of honor and conscience. That the hope of pecuniary gain did not draw him across the ocean, is but too evident, when it is borne in mind that at that time the United States were struggling to avoid extinction, that the half of a general's pay was required to liquidate a barber's fee, while the price of a saddle horse absorbed the emoluments of five or ten years. Add to this the almost intolerable privations, the absence of all opportunity for distinction, and the jealous if not hostile deportment of the native officers, and it must be conceded that a situation like this is to be endured only by men actuated by higher motives, whether of patriotism and ambition, or of manly pride and a sense of duty.

Kalb belongs to the last-named class; he was a military realist, and, as such, perfect. His faithfulness in the service, and his unbounded devotion to the cause, not only compares most favorably with the energy of the native revolutionary generals, but even excels them in iron fortitude. The War of Independence produced many able and patriotic leaders, men whose names will shine in imperishable glory to the end of all history; but among the officers of the highest grade two only sealed their oaths of fealty with their blood. These two generals were foreigners. One of them, Richard Montgomery, the Irishman, stanched his youthful heroism on the snow-clad heights of Quebec, while the other, a veteran of sixty years, John Kalb, the German, breathed his last under the well-nigh tropical sun of South Carolina. He died for the honor of the American arms, fanning with his latest breath the valor of his men. If he could not restore the day, he rescued the fair fame of the republican troops, shamefully abandoned by the commanding general.

At this proud moment we take leave of our hero. In the national museum of France at Versailles his bust is preserved among those of the illustrious men of the country. Yet his virtues were of the Teutonic stamp; the unbending energy, the faithfulness in the discharge of duty, and the dauntless courage which are manifested in all the vicissitudes of his career, were not the fruits of his foreign travel, but the ingredients of his Franconian mother's milk. Germany has never advanced her claims on his renown, yet he has honored her name under the most difficult circumstances. South Carolina has raised a monument to perpetuate his memory, but the great republic for whose independence he sacrificed his life, has almost forgotten his name and services.

It was therefore a welcome and sacred duty he owed to his countrymen which induced the author to represent Kalb in the light of his time, and to revive his memory in the heart of the present generation.

NOTES.

1. THIS version of Kalb's extraction is so diametrically opposed to all the opinions hitherto received, that it will be necessary to state at large how the knowledge of the facts here stated was obtained. The MSS. received from Milon la Chapelle include two writings which mention Huettendorf as the birthplace of General Kalb. One of them is a certificate given the 22d of June, 1798, by the Prussian ambassador at Paris, M. Alphonse de Sandoz-Rollin, in which Elie Kalb, as a son of Major-general Kalb, who was born in Huettendorf, in the margraviate of Bayreuth, is claimed as a Prussian subject (Bayreuth having been incorporated with that monarchy in December, 1791). The other is a copy of the marriage certificate of April 10, 1764, setting forth that "*Jean de Kalb, chevalier, fils du feu Jean Leonard de Kalb,* SEIGNEUR DE HUETTENDORF, *et de dame Marguérite Seitz, né à Huettendorf dans le margraviat de Bayreuth,*" is married to Anna Elizabeth Emilie van Robais at the Dutch embassy in Paris. These documents making it certain that Huettendorf was the birthplace of the general, it only remained to ascertain the year of his birth, which was sometimes given as 1717, and again as 1732. I therefore communicated these facts to a friend of mine then living at Erlangen, near Huettendorf, Professor L. K. Aegidi, and requested him to have the date of Kalb's birth extracted from the church register. Mr. Aegidi soon discovered that Huettendorf neither had, nor ever had had, either a manor house or a church, and therefore referred to Pastor Recknagel, of Kirchenaurach, which includes Huettendorf in its parochial limits, and, without making any mention of the Christian names of the parents, simply requested a statement of the birthday of John de Kalb, born at Huettendorf at some time between the years 1717 and 1732. Mr. Recknagel had the goodness to state, in answer to this inquiry, that there never had been a baronial family of de Kalb in Huettendorf, but that there is still a family of wealthy yeomen there of the name of Kalb. At the time inquired of there had been a farmer, John Leonard Kalb, who, with his wife Margaret

Seiz, had begotten three sons, one of whom, named John, was born the 29th of June, 1721. The correspondence of the given and surnames, omitting only the "de" and the "seigneur," is perfect. Through the kindness of Dr. George Kapp, Superior Consistorial Councillor at Munich, I was subsequently enabled to direct a more detailed inquiry to Mr. Recknagel, which was answered to the effect that the memory of the grand-uncle who had become famous in America is still green in the family, and that a number of descendants of the general's brothers are still living near Huettendorf, such as Conrad Kalb, farmer in Huettendorf, John Kalb, farmer in Gibigenhof near Nuremberg, John Kalb, landlord and master baker in Stadeln near Nuremberg, and Elias Kalb, optician at Nuremberg. This welcome and unexpected disclosure of course induced me to redouble my exertions in ferreting out the origin of the general, whom I, too, had previously taken for a baron. My friend, Aegidi, helped me to still another correspondence, which had been conducted by the general's widow and youngest son with their German kindred between the years 1781 and 1803. Mr. Philip Feust, student of law at Erlangen, had the goodness to furnish me with an exact copy of these twelve letters. The perusal of these papers must dissipate every remaining doubt of Kalb's real extraction. That these letters are genuine is beyond a doubt; because, in the first place, the family at Huettendorf had not the most remote interest in forging such a correspondence, nor even, in all probability, the skill to fabricate it; secondly, they are corroborated by the Rev. Mr. Recknagel's official extracts from the parish records; and, finally, all the names, dates, and persons mentioned in the letters tally with the facts and individuals set forth by the French and American sources of information at my disposal. The oldest of these letters are given in the Appendix, and speak for themselves.

For the sake of completeness, it may be added that, after a long interruption, Kalb's youngest son, Elie or Elijah, resumed the correspondence with John George Kalb in March, 1801, from Kippenberg, near Brug, on the Mur. He had in the mean time assumed the name of Elias von Kell, and had become an ensign in the Austrian infantry regiment of Count Erbach, a circumstance which is mentioned several times in my French authorities. "*Seien Sie versiehert, mein liebster Herr Vetter,*" he says, "*dass ich wahres Anteil au dem Tod Ihrer Frau Sehlich nehme, oder Sie muessten mich Sehr misskennen, war Sie nicht die Schwester meines lieben vatters?*" "Be assured, my dearest

cousin, that I sympathize sincerely with you in the death of your sainted wife, or you would greatly misjudge me, was she not the sister of my dear father?"

On the 2d of June, 1802, Elie, now promoted to the rank of a lieutenant, informs "his true friend and cousin" John George Kalb, of Stadling, that his patrimony had been restored to him, and that he proposed to return to France by way of Stadling. This ends the correspondence between the two. Young Kalb returns to his home, without giving himself any further trouble about his cousin, who had befriended him in time of need. Early in the year 1808, John George Kalb inquired of Mr. Burkhardt, of Bâsle, a friend of the family, what had become of his cousin. Burkhardt replies on the 24th of February, 1808, that Elie de Kalb had recently married, and was living quietly at Milon la Chapelle near Chevreuse, a statement which agrees precisely with the pedigree, on the faith of which the American Government paid Elie de Kalb's claims to his daughter. Mr. Burkhardt concludes his letter to John George Kalb by saying, "In my opinion the silence of M. de Kalb toward those who so kindly took him by the hand in the year of the emigration, is not to be excused."

Thus far the correspondence, which to me appears to place the identity of General Jean Baron de Kalb with the peasant boy John Kalb, beyond all manner of doubt. The baronial family of the de Kalbs of Rheinheim had become extinct in the middle of the sixteenth century. Of the Barons Kalb of Kalbsrieth, but a single branch survived at the time of the birth of our hero. That he was not of their kith is manifest from the answer given by Henry de Kalb, afterward the husband of Schiller's friend, Charlotte de Kalb *née* Ostheimb, then a captain in the French regiment Deuxponts, to General Washington. This M. de Kalb, with his regiment, took part in the French expedition to America, and distinguished himself at the siege of Yorktown. When presented to Washington, the first question of the latter was, whether he was connected with General de Kalb, who had recently fallen at Camden? Henry de Kalb answered that he did not know him, had never seen him, and never heard of him. (I have this fact from an oral communication by Miss Edda de Kalb, of Berlin, the daughter of Henry and Charlotte.) That the general never received a French patent of nobility, is proved by the circumstance that he figures in the army lists as Jean de Kalb from the moment of his first appearance as a young lieutenant in 1743.

2. This statement is made by Kalb himself in a memorial handed to the Marquis de Monteynard the 19th of September, 1773, and to the Prince de Montbarey, the 31st of August, 1779. I find it, like all the subsequent data relative to his promotion in the army, unqualifiedly confirmed by Kalb's *Etat de service* in the French ministry of war, the papers of which were examined for me through the kind intervention of M. Louis Tribert.

3. Geschichte der Revolutionszeit, by Henry von Sybel, vol. I., p. 43.

4. See Appendix II., where the reader may advance his study of the manners and morals of the last century, by perusing some extracts from letters of Kalb's colleagues and comrades on the subject discussed in the text.

5. Kalb's MS. papers (Nachtmann), from which the narrative at the close of the chapter is extracted.

6. F. W. Barthold's "Die geschichtlichen Persœnlichkeiten in Jakob Casanova's Memoiren," Berlin, 1846, II., 130, 131. Schlosser's "Geschichte des 18 Jahrhunderts," II., 366. How much even the most highly-educated German princes, who fought on the side of their country, were imbued with French thoughts and feelings, appears from a remark made by the Duke Ferdinand of Brunswick, recorded in Boisgelin's manuscript notes of his conversations with Ferdinand, and quoted in both of the works above cited.

—— "*Mais, Monsieur, me disait le prince, il n'y a pas d'officier general en Allemagne, quelque grand seigneur qu'il soit, qui ne se regardât comme très-heureux de pouvoir passer au service de France. Quel bonheur de faire la guerre avec des Français et de vivre avec eux à Paris pendant la paix! Ce n'est pas pour vous faire un compliment, ce n'est point parce que vous êtes Français, que je vous conjure, qu'il n'y a pas un parmi nous, qui ne fut enchanté de servir en France.*"

7. *Histoire des Troupes étrangères au service de France, par Eugène Fieffé, commis principal aux archives du ministère de la guerre*, 2 vol. Paris, 1854, I., pp. 268–271. The passage translated in the text is found in volume I., pp. 283–285. Also Schloezer's Correspondence XIV., 103–107. The work first cited is particularly rich in materials on this topic, and is an unintentional but scathing denunciation of the petty sovereignty and seedy nobility of Germany during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. No German not entirely callous to the honor of his country can read Fieffé's book without burning shame and indignation.

8. Kalb's MS. papers (Nachtmann).

9. Archenholz's History of the Seven Years' War, I., 234.

10. Kalb's MS. papers (Nachtmann).

11. Ibidem.

12. Ibidem.

13. Ibidem.

14. "*Choiseul und seine Zeit, von Kurd von Schloezer.*" Berlin, 1857, p. 122.

15. Benjamin Franklin's Works, by Jared Sparks, VII., 357, where he writes from London, August 28, 1767, to his son William:

"De Guerchy, the French ambassador, is gone home, and Mr. Durand is left Minister Plenipotentiary. He is extremely curious to inform himself in the affairs of America, pretends to have a great esteem for me on account of the abilities shown in my examination, has desired to have all my political writings, invited me to dine with him, was very inquisitive, treated me with great civilities, makes me visits, &c."

"I fancy that intriguing nation would like very well to meddle on occasion and blow up the coals between Britain and the colonies, but I hope we shall give them no opportunity."

16. George Bancroft's History of the United States, VI., 25, and further on, at page 67.

17. French archives (ministry of foreign affairs). From this document on to the Kalb's Boston letter of May 2, 1768, in the next chapter, copies in the possession of Mr. Bancroft, for the loan of which I am indebted to him.

18. New York Gazette and Weekly Mercury, February 8, 1768, from which journal the account of the accident is taken.

19. French archives (ministry of war), procured through the kind assistance of Mr. John Bigelow, pièce 26.

20. *Thomas Jefferson, par Cornelis de Witt, troisième édition, Paris,* 1861, pp. 427, 446, and Mr. Bancroft's copies from the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs.

21. French archives (ministry of war), pièce 55.

22. Friedrich von Raumer, "*Beitraege zur Neueren Geschichte*" (1763–1783), Leipsie, 1839, II., 163.

23. Kalb's MS. papers (Nachtmann).

24. *Biographie Universelle*, article "*Broglie.*" The letter itself is appended.

25. Bancroft's History of the United States, vol. VIII., pp. 328–

344, where is to be found the first clear and authentic exposition of the matter treated in the text. It is the more important to keep these points in view, as the plain facts have been much distorted by the contradictory exaggerations of Deane, Beaumarchais, Lee, and du Coudray, each of whom was anxious to appropriate the merit of having sent the munitions of war.

26. Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, by Jared Sparks, vol. I., pp. 71, 95, 97, 98.

27. English archives, S. P. O. France, vol. 497. I am indebted for this letter to the kindness of Mr. Geo. Bancroft. Stormond, it is true, spells Kalb's name in the text "Colbé;" but the identity of Kalb with Colbé is established, apart from all other considerations, by the fact that the latter is called a son-in-law of the well-known van Robais, and that Holtzendorf is named as his companion.

28. Interesting particulars relative to the failure of this expedition are found in "*Beaumarchais et son temps*," par de Loménie, vol. III., pp. 150–160, which, by-the-bye, is cited in the text in the English translation by Henry S. Edwards, London, 1806.

29. Diplomatic Correspondence, vol. I., p. 101.

30. Papers in relation to the case of Silas Deane, Philadelphia, 1855.

31, 32. Kalb's MS. papers (Nachtmann).

33. MS. memorial of Dubois Martin, in the Maryland Historical Society in Baltimore, Portfolio No. 9. The statements of this interesting document are to be received with great caution, not only because they were made for the purpose of attracting the attention of Lafayette, at the time of his visit to this country in 1824, to the grandiloquent author, who was then living at Baltimore in straitened circumstances, but also because Dubois speaks of many things as an eye-witness, which he could only have learned from hearsay.

34. This and the following sketch are based upon the letters of Kalb to his wife, which I have found in Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle), and which are the more reliable as they narrate the little incidents of almost every day, without any thought of publication.

35. Lafayette to Mrs. Geymueller. See Appendix VIII.

36, 37. Raumer, *ubi sup.* III., 231, 232, and 242.

38. Washington's Writings, by Jared Sparks, V., 449.

39. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle), letter of June 20, 1777.

40. Washington State Department Papers, Volume No. 164, p. 306.

41. Life of Steuben, by Friedrich Kapp, New York, 1858, p. 527.

42. Journals of Congress (Dunlap's Edition), III., 276.

43. Ibid., III., 279.

44. Ibid., III., 323.

45. Ibid., III., 394.

46. Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, I., 295. See Appendix IX.

47. Memoirs of Ségur, vol. I.

48. Department of State Papers, Washington, vol. "de Kalb."

49. Journals of Congress, III. The resolution is printed in the Appendix X.

50. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

51. Journals of Congress, III., Session of October 4th. See Appendix X.

52. Kalb to his wife, Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

53. Washington's Writings, V., p. 204.

54. Ibid., pp. 157 and 167.

55. This and the following letter from Kalb to Broglie, of the year 1777, are found in the French ministry of foreign affairs, where they were copied by Mr. George Bancroft. Mr. Bigelow afterward had the same letters copied for me in the ministry of war. Broglie acted evidently as a go-between with Vergennes, St. Germain, and Kalb, or his letters would hardly have got into the archives of the ministries of war and of foreign affairs.

56. Communicated to me by the kindness of Mr. George H. Moore, from the Laurens Manuscript papers in the possession of Mr. Evertt Duyckinck.

57. Lafayette's letter of acceptance to Congress, dated January 31, 1778; found in the Washington State Department Manuscript Papers, vol. 156, pp. 7, etc.

58. Gates' instructions are found at the same place, vol. 156, pp. 55 *et seq.*

59. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

60. Washington Irving's Life of Washington, III., 362.

61. Gates' MS. papers, in the possession of the New York Historical Society, vol. 12.

62. Ibid., vol. 13.

63. Revolutionary Correspondence, by Jared Sparks, vol. II., pp. 93, 94.

64. Life of Steuben, by Friedrich Kapp, p. 139.

65. Washington's Writings, V., 360.

66. The oath is found in the Army Returns, No. 37, Oaths of Allegiance, Q. 17, vol. I., No. 10, in the Washington State Department, and Revolutionary Orders of General Washington, by Henry Whiting, New York, 1844, p. 80.

67. Letter from Kalb to Colonel Pettit, Assistant Quartermaster-general, dated September 22, 1778, kindly communicated to me in MS. by Dr. Sprague, of Albany.

68, 69. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle); the letters are addressed to his wife.

70. Washington's Writings, VI., p. 126.

71. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

72. Washington's Writings, VI., 268.

73, 74, and 76. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

75. Life of Steuben, by Friedrich Kapp, New York, 1859, pp. 228-231.

77. Kalb here quotes Virgil without having the book at hand, and naturally commits a few slips of memory. If the reader desires fully to appreciate the beauty of this most poetical comparison, and its telling application to the position in which Kalb then found himself, let him turn to Virgil's Æneid, III., 254, 257, and VII., 110–116 and 124–134, which contain the prophecies of Celaeno, and their fulfilment.

78. Life of Frederick William von Steuben, by Friedrich Kapp, New York, 1859, p. 706.

79. Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, I., 317.

80. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle), letters dated December 7, 1779, January 1, 20, and 26, and February 12, 1780.

81. Life of Steuben, by Friedrich Kapp, p. 239.

82. Washington's Writings, by Sparks, VI., 413.

83. Ibid., p. 487.

84. Ibid., p. 416.

85. See Revolutionary Correspondence, II., 404, 415.

86. Ibid., II., p. 430.

87. Washington's Writings, VI., 494.

88. Revolutionary Correspondence, II., 450.

89. Washington's Writings, VII., 7.

90. Ibid., p. 15.

91. Ibid., p. 10.

92. A Narrative of the Campaign of 1780, by Colonel O. H. Wil-

liams, Adjutant-General. This journey of one of the ablest officers of the Revolution is printed as an appendix to Johnston's Sketches of the Life and Correspondence of Nathanael Greene, Charleston, 1822, vol. IV., pp. 485–507, and in the valueless little biography of General Greene, by W. G. Simms, New York, 1850, pp. 359–383. It is one of the most important documents in the history of the southern campaign of General Kalb, whose adjutant Williams then was. Both before and after this period Colonel Williams served as inspector; he stood high in Kalb's confidence and esteem. I shall have frequent occasion to cite him hereafter, and in so doing, shall refer to the paging in Simms' book, that being the more familiar and accessible of the two.

93. Revolutionary Correspondence, II., 448.

94. Diary of Christopher Marshall in Philadelphia (MS.), communicated by William Duane, Esq., of that city.

95. Gates' MS. papers, vol. XVII. The letter here quoted also furnishes the data of Kalb's journey from Philadelphia to Petersburg.

96. Revolutionary Correspondence, II., 371.

97, 98. Kalb's MS. papers (Milon la Chapelle).

99, 100. Williams' Narrative, pp. 360, 361.

101. Washington Irving's Life of Washington, 8vo edition, IV., 75.

102, 103. Gates' MS. papers, vol. 17.

104. The recital from Gates' arrival in camp to the close of the chapter is literally extracted from Williams' Narrative.

105. Ibid., and General Orders from July 26, 1780, to August 15, 1780, MS. in possession of the Historical Society of Maryland in Baltimore, to which I am particularly indebted for precision in dates.

106. Gates' MS. papers, vol. XVII.

107. Williams, *ubi sup.* 2. General Gist's Order Book (in possession of the Historical Society of Maryland in Baltimore, where I examined it), and Henry Lee's Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department, Washington, 1827, p. 85.

108. Williams, *ubi sup.*

109. Stedman's American War (8vo edition), II., 226–228.

110. History of the Campaign of 1780 and 1781 in the Southern Provinces of North America, by Lieut.-colonel Tarleton, London, 1787, p. 99.

111. Williams, *ubi sup.*, and Smith's Memoir of Baron de Kalb, p. 17.

112. Thatcher's Military Journal, p. 206.

113. Correspondence of Charles, First Marquis Cornwallis, by Charles Ross, in 3 vols., London, John Murray, 1859, I., pp. 55, 56, a compilation which, so far as American affairs are concerned, is extremely superficial and worthless.

114. Stedman, *ubi sup.*, p. 230, 231.

115. Williams, *ubi sup.*

116. The account of the battle is founded mainly on the report of Williams, an eye-witness, whose testimony, however, is confirmed by all the authorities on both sides.

117. Williams, Thatcher, and Garden relate the death of Kalb in the same terms; it would seem, indeed, as if the latter two writers had copied from the former, who was an eye-witness.

118. Correspondence of Cornwallis, I., p. 56.

119. Wheeler's History of North Carolina, II., 154. Humphrey Hunter's account, there followed, is adopted by me in so far only as he speaks as an eye-witness. What he gives from hearsay bears internal marks of improbability, and is at variance with the statements of better observers.

120. Maryland Journal, 1760, and J. Spear Smith's Memoir, already cited, p. 26.

121. Revolutionary Correspondence, III., 76; Gates' MS. papers and Washington's Writings, VII., 239, 285.

122. Resolutions and Acts of Congress, VI., 214 (Dunlap's Edition).

123. Colonel Nicholas Rogers, of Baltimore, to General Henry Lee. See Appendix XV., where the letter is printed *in extenso*.

124. I am indebted for the first pedigree of the descendants of Kalb to J. Caroll Brent, Esq. of Washington, for many years the solicitor of the family before Congress. The data there given are confirmed by an essay written by the son of Elie de Kalb in 1829, and found in the papers of Milon la Chapelle. The latest additions were furnished by Mr. J. Nachtmann, the established friend of the family. See Appendix, where the summary of the parents, brothers, and sisters of Kalb, furnished by the Rev. M. Recknagel, is also given.

125. Statement by Elie de Kalb in his contemporary letter to his kinsman in Franconia (with which I have been favored by Philip Feust, Esq., student of law), borne out by the family papers at Milon la Chapelle.

126. I am indebted for the particulars of this grant of lands to the kindness of Alfred Schuecking, Esq., of Washington, who at-

tempted, shortly before the year 1850, to recover the land for the family, which would have been an easy matter at that time, but which was frustrated by the heirs of Kalb themselves.

127. The various committee reports on this matter were kindly presented to me by J. Caroll Brent, Esq. They are Report No. 184, 31st Congress, first session, House of Representatives, March 28, 1850, and Report No. 193, 33d Congress, first session, House of Representatives, February 6, 1854. From them I have taken the statements of the text.

128. Congressional Globe, Vol. XXX., 33d Congress, second session, pp. 68, 250, 320, 357.

129. Washington's Writings, XII., p. 200.

130. An accurate description of all the solemnities observed on this occasion, and the text of the speeches made by those who participated, is found in the "Voice of Masonry, and Tidings from the Craft," Vol. I., number 23, Louisville, Kentucky, December 15, 1859, to which Masonic periodical these facts were communicated by brother J. B. Kershaw, of Camden. I am under obligations to Dr. R. Barthelmes, of Brooklyn, who is collecting information relative to the German Freemasons in America, preparatory to the publication of a work on the subject, for the loan of this interesting number of that journal.

131. B. J. Lossing's Pictorial Field-Book of the Revolution, II., 468, where, also, a picture of the monument is given.

132. Statistics of the Principality of Bayreuth, by G. W. A. Fikenscher, Munich, 1811, p. 98 and 6.

133. Oral and perfectly reliable communication by an old inhabitant of the castle of Bruckberg, made to the author in Sept., 1843.

134. John Gottlob von Meyern, in his "*Nachrichten von der politischen und œkonomischen Verfassung des Fuerstenthums Bayreuth, und der in diesem Jahrhundert verstorbenen Markgrafen von Brandenburg*, Bayreuth, Gotha, 1780," pp. 20–25, thus describes this margrave and the doings of his court: "His naturally restless disposition had not been properly controlled in early life; the consequence of which was that he abandoned himself too much to his favorites and ministers, to frivolous amusements and expensive luxuries. His prime minister and special favorite, Ellrod, had the address to prevent his lord from being approached by anything capable of producing an unpleasant impression or causing uneasiness. He managed to provide the means of meeting the most urgent wants, and to silence the remonstrances

of the administrative and financial boards against the constant increase of the public debt. He was the son of a court chaplain of Bayreuth, and artfully raised himself from the position of governor of the pages to that of prime minister and count of the empire. The court dignitaries consisted of a chief marshal, a court marshal, a master of ceremonies, various gentlemen of the chamber and the court, French and German cooks, gentlemen of the bed-chamber, waiting-men, servants, footmen, and runners. Of German and foreign gamekeepers, whippers-in and huntsmen, and the accompanying dogs and horses, there was more than abundance. A troup of the first Italian male and female singers, under the direction of eminent German performers, discoursed the most exquisite vocal and instrumental music, and gave evidence of the cultivated taste of the margrave and his consort. In addition to this an academy of music was established for the benefit of the amateurs of the court and the capital. The French theatre was stocked with the best French actresses, and with dancers of all the nations of Europe, which, as well as the French cooks, were paid like ministers of state, and rapidly accumulated enough to purchase annuities and landed estates in France. Even the celebrated Parisian tragedian Lekain and the comedian Préville were called to Bayreuth, and munificently rewarded for their performances. The operatic and theatrical performances and the academy of music were open to every one free of charge. The margrave wanted others to share in all his pleasures. The enjoyment of his servants and subjects was his own. For the purpose of extending the same advantages to the lower portion of his dominions, he frequently removed his court to Erlangen."

The annual expenses for ornamental architecture were 50,000 florins. The money was disbursed by French and Italian architects. It was this department in which French noblemen such as Mirabeau, Adhémar, Montperny, Châtelet, and others made their livelihood and fortunes. "The extent of these operations, the academy, and the funds expended on the education of intelligent young men, were the means of training skilled artists and mechanics, who, after the death of the margrave, were employed in the architectural department at Berlin and Potsdam. Even a *danseuse*, Miss Heinlin, born and instructed at Bayreuth, was the admiration of all the connoisseurs of London and Paris for years after the death of the margrave."

135. Parliamentary Register, VII., 44; transactions of February 1, 1777; and Schloezer's "*Staatsanzeiger*," vol. VI.

136. The character of Lady Milford, the "virtuous wanton," in Schiller's "Love and Intrigue," would seem to be a portrait of Lady Craven, who was the last mistress of Charles Alexander, the last margrave of Ansbach-Bayreuth, and who persuaded him to cede his principality to the Prussian crown. The second scene of the third act of that play is highly colored; but that it is not untrue to the life appears from the succeeding note.

137. In 1777 the "Hamburg Correspondent," then the leading political journal of Germany, published letters from two correspondents, which I can the less refrain from reproducing here, as they display most manifestly the enthusiasm and devotion with which Kalb's countrymen followed the flag of their margrave to America.

"On the 9th of this month," says a correspondent writing from Nuremberg, March 18, 1777, "certain German troops on their way to England broke out into a rebellion, which might have had serious consequences, if the sovereign had not, in his own person, repaired to the ships that same evening, and restored order by the influence of his august presence. Nevertheless some violence had already been committed, one man having been killed and five wounded, while thirty others had seized the opportunity of making their escape. The accompanying commissaries had been compelled to fly for their lives to a neighboring city."

"On the 9th instant," says another correspondent of the same paper, writing from the lower Elbe under date of April 3, 1777, "the Anspach troops marched to the river's bank at Ochsenfurt, and were shipped. The narrow space in the vessels induced Colonel d'Eyb, who commanded the brigade, to lay by a little on the 10th, in order to make the soldiers a little more comfortable. He gave orders to cook the rations, and to be in readiness for marching. But as the boatmen had no orders to procure more bottoms, there was not time to redress this grievance, or prepare comfortable quarters for the soldiers. They resigned themselves to their fate, however, and were only anxious soon to reach Wuerzburg. Idleness led them to drink, and then some of the grenadiers of the Bayreuth regiment Voith began to murmur. They were joined by a number from the regiment Eyb, until at length all united in protesting that they had sworn to serve on land but not by water. A number now began to quit the ships and their flags, called to their comrades to follow them, and marched off into the mountains, avoiding Ochsenfurt. The officers in vain endeavored to bring them to order; some of the ringleaders had already

passed the vineyards. The riflemen posted there now fired, and shot a number of the deserters, and Eckert's grenadier company of the regiment Eyb set itself in motion, and undertook to recall the mutineers by friendly expostulations. At this moment, however, the disturbance became general, and Captain d'Eckert of the grenadiers, and Lieutenants de Schoenfeldt, d'Adelsheim, and Kuhlau, who were joined by Lieutenant von Reitzenstein as a volunteer, were ordered to quell the riot, when they caused d'Eckert's grenadier company to march against the regiment Voith, and to prepare to load. This brought the brawlers to their senses, and they reëntered their ranks, whereupon the grenadiers uncocked their pieces and returned. There being some difficulty as to which company should first march on board, it was resolved to march back on shore from Ochsenfurt to Uffenheim. The grenadiers of the regiment Eyb, however, assured the brigadier that he would have no difficulty in reshipping them; they were prepared to show themselves ready to execute the orders of their prince on all occasions. This was done; Serenissimus arrived at four o'clock next morning, and at his appearance *the dutiful soldiers shed tears of joy, and quietly resumed their march.*"

The portrait of Kalb given in the frontispiece was engraved from a photograph taken by order of Mr. J. Nachtmann, and kindly presented to the author, from an oil painting belonging to the general's grand-daughter, the Vicomtesse d'Alzac. It represents our hero in the costume of the day, and was taken immediately before his departure for America. A portrait in oil, owned by the Maryland Historical Society at Baltimore, corresponds with this engraving in the smallest particulars, and appears to have been copied from the same family picture, to which is also to be referred the copy to be found in Independence Hall at Philadelphia.

The facsimile under the picture is taken from his letter written at Petersburg, May 29, 1780, which is given at large in the text, and was also presented to the author by Mr. J. Nachtmann. It is one of the latest writings found among his papers.

APPENDIX.

I.

LETTERS FROM THE WIFE AND CHILDREN OF GENERAL KALB TO THEIR GERMAN KINSMEN.

1. MADAME DE KALB À MR. GEORGE DE KALB À STADIJNG.

PARIS, *le* 20 *Janvier*, 1781.

MON TRES CHER FRÈRE: Je suis on ne peut pas être plus sensible à la lettre tendre et consolante que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire. Les sentimens que vous m'y marquez me pénètrent du sincère regret de me voir si eloignée d'une famille qui aurait fait ma plus grande consolation et qui, en me rappellant le meilleur des maris, aurait melé ses larmes a celles que je repands et ne cesserai de repandre tous les jours de ma vie. Mais me voyant privée de cette satisfaction je chercherai à m'en dédommager en inspirant à mes enfans les sentiments dont j'ai été penetrée pour la famille de mon mari. Quand ils seront en age et qu'ils pourront faire le voyage sans nuire à leur education et à leur avancement, je les enverrai vous rendre leurs devoirs et vous prier de les présenter au reste de la famille . . . . . J'ai joint à la lettre de mon fils un model de procuration qui m'est tres essentiel d'avoir pour l'arrangement de mes affaires. J'attribue, mon tres cher frère, votre silence à cet egard sur ce qui je ne vous avais pas observé que cette procuration ne vous engage à rien parceque, suivant la coutume de Paris, les parens qui donnent leurs avis pour la nomination d'un tuteur ou d'un subrogué tuteur, ne sont pas garants de sa gestion . . . . . Je désirerais que vos affaires puissent vous permettre de venir ici. Dans ce cas la procuration deviendrait inutile, vous verriez les choses par vous-meme, et je vous prierais, d'accepter un logement chez moi, et de disposer de tout comme si vous etiez dans votre maison. Il ne serait et question que pour lorsque de trouver quelqu'un qui pût expliquer en allemand ce que vous n'entendez pas, ce qui je crois ne serait pas difficile. Ne

doutez pas, je vous prie, de la satisfaction que j'aurai de vous voir accepter ma proposition, et de vous prouver de vive voix les sentiments distingués avec lesquels j'ai l'honneur d'être votre tres humble et obéissante servante et soeur.

VAUROBAIS DE KALB.

2. ELIJAH KALB TO MR. SIEBENKAESS, HUCKSTER* AT THE NEW GATE AT NUREMBERG.

BÂSLE, *April* 6, 1793.

MY VERY DEAR COUSIN: I would be very unfeeling if I did not take all sorts of trouble to show you my gratitude. Unfortunately, the German language is not familiar enough to me, in writing, for me to make use of it. But the great kindness with which you have requested me to write to you in Germany, and the fatherly affection which you have hitherto shown me, has given me a heart to try it. The certificate you procured for me has been sent at once to Paris; but I do not yet know what effect it has had. As regards the amount which you had the goodness to disburse for me, my brother-in-law will send it to you by the same merchant who handed you my first letter.

Pardon my bad writing, my dearest cousin; but it is not to be pardoned, that one who is of German blood, and who has lived a long time in Germany, should not write better. I speak it as well as the French, but writing I have not used. I cannot sufficiently express to you my gratitude and friendship, with which I have the honor to be, my dearest cousin, your most obedient servant, friend, and cousin. ELIJAH KALB.

For the better understanding of this letter, it should be remarked that Elie de Kalb, the general's youngest son, was at that time abroad as a penniless refugee, the estates of the family having been confiscated by the Convention. He omits the "*de*" in his own name as well as in that of his relative. The certificate to which he alludes in an attestation of the authorities at Bayreuth, that General John Kalb was born at Huettendorf, and therefore the subject of a German state, and that consequently his sons, the oldest of whom expired on the guillotine in October, 1793, could not be regarded as French-

* The German word "Pfragner" is a Franconian provincialism, meaning a green-grocer, or a trader who deals in flour, peas, beans, and such articles.

men. This document, subsequently endorsed by the Prussian Ambassador at Paris, is also referred to more than once in the French sources of information.

3. ELIJAH KALB TO MR. SIEBENKAESS, HUCKSTER AT NUREMBERG.

BÂSLE, *October* 18, 1793.

MY DEAREST COUSIN: I have received your affectionate letter of the 12th of this month, and am really very sensible of the friendship and interest you take in my painful and unfortunate lot. The certificates I have received and forwarded to Paris, but have not any answer. This silence on the part of my agent is not at all surprising, because all the letters sent out of France are opened, and if the slightest suspicion were entertained that he was writing to a refugee, it would cost him his head. To be sure I ought not to be considered a refugee, nor am I such, but in such a country and at such a time, when there is no order, no law, and no religion, innocence will always be in the wrong, until the Highest shall pronounce the rights that belong to us in this world, or until He shall put an end to war and revolution. To all appearances we shall soon have peace. . . . I have found true kindred and friends, who had never known me, and who yet have shown me so much friendship. But be assured, also, that I shall never forget it, and that I am impatiently waiting for the time when I shall be able to show you my gratitude in a better way.

I wish I could send you the amount disbursed for me; but at this moment it is impossible, because I have not had any thing sent to me from home for a long time. . . Pardon me my bad pronunciation and writing. Honor me furthermore with your kind remembrance, and believe me that I fully appreciate it. My dearest cousin and friend, Your most sincere, most obedient friend and servant,

ELIJAH KALB.

4. LUKE GEYMUELLER (THE GENERAL'S SON-IN-LAW) TO JOHN GEORGE KALB.

BÂSLE, *February* 20, 1795.

MY MOST WORTHY AND DEAR COUSIN: It was not without the greatest sensibility that we received the mournful news of the decease of our dear and worthy cousin at Huettendorf. My brother-in-law, my wife and myself, assure you for ever of our friendship, and beg

you, my dear cousin, to kiss your beloved wife and children heartily. My brother-in-law is much surprised to find that you have not received one of the last three letters he wrote you. You cannot conceive how much pain it gives my brother-in-law that you should have had the thought that he has forgotten you. He is far from having any such thoughts, and our dear cousin is certainly convinced of it. He will never forget the friendship you have extended to him, and still extend to him. Should he ever recover his property, it will be his first care to repay you, my dear friend, the money so kindly disbursed for him, with all possible gratitude. My wife and I also deeply feel what you have done for him, and beg for the continuance of your tenderness. We esteem ourselves fortunate in having such a kinsman; it will be a real pleasure to hear often from you and your beloved family. . . My most worthy cousin,

Your most obedient and most devoted cousin and friend,

GEYMUELLER.

5. ELIJAH KALB TO JOHN GEORGE KALB, STADLING, NEAR NUREMBERG.

BÂSLE, *September* 20, 1797.

MY DEAREST COUSIN: With tearful eyes I take the pen to inform you of my hard, sad fate. But you are probably already aware, that another new empollune has taken place at Paris, and the main purpose is not to return anything to any one whose name is on the list of refugees, whether it came there rightfully or wrongfully. I have had the honor of writing to you often, and have received no more answers. My dearest cousin, who always wrote me such affectionate letters of consolation, can he abandon me entirely, and no longer consider me his faithful friend and cousin? Oh no! the thought would be too dreadful. Honor me with a speedy reply, and be assured of my friendship and cousinly affection, with which I shall remain through life, Your most devoted cousin and friend,

ELIJAH KALB.

6. LUKE GEYMUELLER TO JOHN GEORGE KALB.

PARIS, *March* 2, 1793.

MOST HONORED COUSIN: You are acquainted with the unfortunate plight of your cousin Elijah, which is really deplorable, so long as his case cannot be passed upon. To have his matters arranged he must have a voucher to prove that his father was a citizen in Huettendorf,

County Bayreuth, and was regarded as a citizen to the day of his death, as well as his children, that he was born there, the date of his birth, and the name and baptismal names of his parents; this must not be omitted by any means. This certificate of citizenship must also be authenticated by the minister at the Franconian court. You see, my dear cousin, how much we need your assistance.

7. ELIJAH KALB TO JOHN GEORGE KALB, STADLING.

BÂSLE, *April* 18, 1799.

DEAREST COUSIN: You cannot imagine how dreadful it is for us to receive no answers from you to several letters. The writings which have cost you so much trouble and expense, are at Paris, under seal, as you know. Baron Hardenberg, the Prussian ambassador here, is willing to help me if I can show him in black and white that my sainted father was a Prussian, and to prove this he demands a certificate of baptism from the place where my father was born. Should it take more than a fortnight to send me the certificate of baptism, please have the goodness to give me the name of the village where he was born, but send the certificate on as soon as possible, and be so kind as to let me know what my sainted grandfather was, and where he lived. We recommend ourselves to the friendship of you and yours, and with much love to all our relations, etc., etc.

II.

1. MAJOR WURMSER (REGIMENT ALSACE) TO KALB.

TOUL, *Juin* 8, 1751.

Je puis vous répondre avec sureté que le régiment a toujours eu coutume de faire passer par les verges les filles de mauvaise vie et autres qui étaient dans le cas de le mériter. Le régiment ne c'est jamais opposé de prendre les verges, quand il est arrivé de faire passer une fille par toute la parade d'une garnison. Les caporaux et les grénadiers sont seuls dispensés de cette besogne.

2. MAJOR DE HEIFTER TO KALB.

COLMAR, *le* 8 *Juin*, 1751.

Le regiment ne passe jamais aucune fille par les verges. Si le cas s'en présente, notre prévôt les fait proméner à la parade pendant une

heure, ou bien il les fait mettre sur un cheval de bois, et si le fait est plus grave, il les fait fouetter par la main du bourreau.

3. MAJOR LESLIE TO KALB.

MAUBEUGE, *le* 13 *Juin*.

Quand nous trouvons des filles dans les casernes, le regiment les fait passer par les verges. Mais dans aucun cas les grénadiers ne passent personne par les verges.

4. BARON DE VOLZ TO KALB.

CAMBRAY, *le* 12 *Juin*, 1751.

" Pour répondre, Monsieur, à celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire le 5 de ce mois, l'usage est dans notre regiment, de faire passer les putains seulement dans les cas ci-énoncés. Si des filles sont prises dans les chambrées des soldats du corps ou par des patrouilles que le corps aurait fait exprès pour cela, le Régiment fournit seul le détachement pour passer ces filles par les verges. Mais si elles sont prises par des détachements ordonnés par l'Etat major de la place ou par des soldats de garde ailleurs que dans des chambrées des soldats, quoique le détachement ne soit que d'un corps, les dites filles doivent être passées par les troupes qui composent la garde, excepté la cavalerie et les grenadiers qui se retirent quatre pas en arrière des rangs et ne prennent pas des verges. Les filles prises dans les chambrées de tel corps que ce soit, c'est à ce corps à fournir seul le détachement pour les fouetter et les autres ne doivent pas s'en mêler. Si elles sont prises dans les chambrées des grenadiers c'est aux grenadiers seuls à les fouetter. N'étant pas d'usage qu'ils fouettent les filles prises dans les chambrées des fusiliers, les fusiliers ne doivent pas être les correcteurs des leurs; si le cas arrivait, comme il pourrait se trouver de la mauvaise volonté dans les grenadiers, cela mérite d'être executé avec bien d'attention pour ne pas tomber dans le cas où l'obéissance des grénadiers occasionnerait peut-être quelque conseil de guerre comme cela est arrivé a Nancy il y a 2 ou 3 ans dont il y a eu trois grénadiers de pendus pour pareil cas.

Ainsi donc toutes filles prises partout ailleurs que dans des chambrées des soldats par des patrouilles ou par des détachements ordonnés par l'état major, doivent être fouettées par les troupes de la garnison qui composent la garde, excepté comme je l'ai dit, la cavalerie et les grénadiers.

Si c'est une patrouille que quelqu'un corps fait, soit pour veiller au dehors que les soldats ne s'écartent pas au delà des limites ou pour éviter la désertion, si ces dites patrouilles n'ont pas un ordre par écrit de l'état major d'arrêter les filles, ce sera à ce corps seul, dont la patrouille sera, à punir les dites filles avec les soldats, qu'ils les aient trouvées y ayant apparence sans cet ordre par écrit que la dite patrouille est pour la discipline de leur corps.

Si de ces filles sont prises dans des chambrées de la cavalerie c'est à la cavalerie à les punir ou à l'état-major d'ordonner leur châtiment sans que l'infanterie de la garnison doive en aucune façon être l'instrument de leur correction.

Voilà ce qui se pratique dans mon régiment et sélon mon avis, c'est dont on ne doit pas s'écarter, etc., etc.

III.

GENERAL CLERKE TO WILLIAM COUNT LIPPE.

PARIS, *the 17th of February*, 1765.

SIR: I hope that your Highness found your affairs at home and your Watercastle * going on to your mind. I have been here for these three months, and I intend to return soon to London. The opposition is not considerable. Though there was a great division upon the general warrants it proceeded from way of thinking more than personality, which does them honor. Lord Melburne was married two weeks ago to Lady Sophia Carteret, daughter of Lord Carteret, whom you knew in the Dettingen campaign as Secretary of State.

Mr. de Kalb will deliver this letter to your Highness. He is a German and a Protestant. He served the last war as deputy quartermaster under Marshal Broglie, who has confidence in him and esteems him very much as a good officer; but he has it not in his power at present to serve him as he deserves. He appears to me to be a sensible military man. Money is not his object, and he has fortune sufficient to live at his ease. His ambition is to be made a general officer in Portugal, and Marshal Broglie by that means may have it in his power to get him the same rank in France in another war.

I find here that Count d'Oyeras had made proposals to Closen,

* Count William was then erecting the fortress of Wilhelmstein in the lake called the "Steinhuder Meer."

who did not accept of them and who died a little afterward. I have received here great civilities both from Marshal Broglie and the Court, and should be glad to have it in my power to show my sensibility to their kindness and good opinions of me. Monsieur de Kalb having no business at present thinks it no trouble at any rate of going to Germany and paying his respects to your Highness; he can inform you of many things as to the French part in the German war. I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you myself this year in Germany. I have a great desire to pay my respects to you in your own dominions. I am with the greatest respect your Highness's most obedient servant.

R. CLERKE.

IV.

1. PRÉCIS DES OBJETS DE LA COMMISSION DE M. DE KALB. ENVOYÉ À M. LE DUC DE CHOISEUL LE 6 AOÛT, 1768.

M. le Duc de Choiseul m'ayant chargé de savoir les dispositions des habitans des colonies de l'Amérique septentrionale à l'égard de la grande Bretagne et dans le cas que les Provinces en vinssent à une rupture ouverte avec leur métropole quels seraient leurs moyens de faire la guerre ou de défendre leur liberté.

Objet de ma Commission.

Voici donc un abrégé de mes observations sans entrer ici dans toutes celles que j'ai faites sur le pays dans un plus grand détail et qui ne sont pas relatives aux objets de ma commission.

L'acte du papier timbré qu'on a voulu introduire dans ces colonies en 1765 a révolté tous les esprits et causé des emeutes qui n'ont cessé qu'avec la révocation de l'acte et le renvoy de ces papiers que le Parlement y avait fait passer. La frégate qui en était chargée en a débarqué partie au fort de la Nouvelle York comme la chose n'a pu être secrète. Le peuple de la ville s'est assemblé tumultueusement, a bri é les coronets et tout ce qui s'est trouvé hors de l'énceinte du fort appartenant au Lieutenant Gouverneur qui fut obligé de renvoyer à bord du vaisseau tous les dits papiers pour rétablir la communication du fort ou il se trouvait renfermé avec la ville. La frégate a été observée et comme bloquée jour et nuit par le peuple pendant plusieurs mois pour se rendre certain qu'on ne remettrait plus de ces papiers à terre jusqu'à ce que l'acte ait été révoqué et la frégate [illegible] toute sa charge.

Sujet de mécontentiment des colonies.

L'acte de 1765 enjoignait à toutes les Provinces de fournir aux troupes Britanniques le logement, le chauffage, le sel, la boisson etc. occassionna encore un mécontentement général, cependant les Colonies l'ont accordé à quelques exceptions et changements près.

Enfin un nouvel impôt en 1767 sur le papier, les glaces et toutes sortes de verres a achevé d'indisposer ces peuples contre le Parlement et le Ministère leur a fait ouvrir les yeux sur leur situation et sur la possibilité de se passer de toutes les marchandises d'Europe en encourageant les talens et leurs propres manufactures.

Arrangements d'économie pris par les Colonies.

Les marchands de Boston animés d'un esprit patriotique pour le bien du public et aux dépens de leur propre intérêt se sont engagés par écrit à ne plus rien tirer d'Angleterre que ce dernier acte ne soit révoqué. Et sur leurs lettres circulaires aux négociants de toutes les villes commerçantes des autres Colonies, la même résolution a été prise dans tout le continent unanimement, resolution qui tend nécessairement au détriment du commerce et des manufactures d'Angleterre et à exciter des troubles parmi les ouvriers des trois royaumes.

Il y a lieu que ce pays diviendra indépendant.

Il n'y a pas de doute que le pays ne se rende indépendant par la suite lorsque le nombre de ses habitans excédera celui de la grande Bretagne, et il y marche à grands pas par la population prodigieuse jointe aux nouveaux Colons qui ne discontinuent d'y arriver de tous les pays de l'Europe. Cet Evénément peut n'être pas éloigné. Le gouvernement même le précipitéra s'il continue par des actes de rigueur, et les taxes illégales à gener le commerce et les manufactures des colonies (que mal a propos ou la es a laissé établir, mais qu'il n'est plus temps d'arrêter sans exciter des murmures) surtout si ces procédés les forcent une fois pour toutes à s'affranchir de l'acte de navigation (quiestle seul acte d'autorité que la métropole puisse exercer sur les Colonies, auquel seul elles aient consenti et que les chartres pour leur etablissement exigent d'elles) et de la défense qui subsiste de se concerter entre elles d'une province à l'autre et toutes ensemble sur leurs intérêts communs et qu'elles s'avisent de prendre ouvertement le parti d'une confédération générale contre les mesures injustes du ministère.

Ce pays s'affranchira non seulement de toute dépendance de la courronne d'Angleterre avec le temps, mais il envahira encore toutes les possessions que les puissances Européennes ont en Amérique tant isles que terre ferme.

Ces colonies n'accepteraient aucun Secours étranger.

Il y a tout lieu de croire que la conformité des lois, d'usage, de langage et de religion empêchera ces colonies (du moins dans le moins présent malgré leurs sujets de plaintes) d'agir contre leur métropole autrement que par la privation des marchandises anglaises, par l'encouragement de leurs propres manufactures et l'établissement de nouvelles à moins qu'on ne les force à se défendre : Et dans ce cas là même elles n'accepteraient aucun secours étranger qui ne pourrait que leur paraitre suspect et alarmer leur liberté surtout de la part de la France elles se soumettraient plutôt au parlement d'Angleterre pour un temps. D'ailleurs ces provinces étant d'accord entre-elles leurs propres forces suffiraient à leur défense mutuelle une armée anglaise telle forte qu'elle puisse être ne pourrait que ravager ou piller quelques villes maritimes ou tout au plus quelques provinces, mais jamais les soumettre et les contenir. L'étendue seule sans effort des habitans pour s'y opposer est un obstacle invincible à un pareil dessein. Et si une indépendance complete est la fin des troubles présentes entre deux parties de la nation Britannique, le ministère de la métropole ne peut l'attribuer qu'à les injustices reitérées, et la nation entière sensible enfin aux outrages faites à des frères et des concitoyens et de ce qu'elle aurait à craindre pour son propre compte ne pourrait s'en prendre qu'à ses représentants en parlement qui ont bassement vendu à la cour la liberté et le droit du peuple.

Je ne saurais donc me persuader que le Gouvernement anglais entende assez peu les véritables intérêts pour en venir jamais à des extrémités avec ces colonies, je crois au contraire que toutes les discussions se termineront à l'entière satisfaction de ces dernières.

Mes raisons sont que la plus saine partie de la nation Anglaise et le roi même doivent s'opposer aux entreprises des ministres et aux mésures poursuivies jusqu'ici contre les colonies.

La nation le doit.

1° parceque les impôts mis sur les Américains sont injustes et tyranniques et qu'ils sont absorbés par le grand nombre d'employés pour la perception qui sont autant de pensionnaires du ministère et qu'il n'en résulte aucun bien pour les trois Royaumes soit pour le paiement des dettes nationales, soit pour le soulagement des sujets,

2° parceque le Bénéfice que l'administration recevait jusqu'ici des productions de l'Amérique et de ce qu'on leur donnait en échange en s'en tenant aux termes de l'acte de navigation est plus avantageux à la métropole que tous les impôts qu'on pourraient y substituer,

3° parceque la perte deviendrait immense, pour les négociants, les manufactures et pour toute la Grande Bretagne en général, si les colonies étaient forcées à s'affranchir de l'obligation du dit acte de navigation à porter par conséquent leurs productions aux étrangers directement et à ouvrir leurs ports à toutes les nations,

4° parceque si les colonies succombaient sous les forces que les trois Royaumes prêteraient au ministère, les Anglais n'auraienetils pas à craindre d'être subjugués à leur tour par les forces Américaines ou même par des forces absolument étrangères à leur constitution.

Le Roi de son côté devrait s'opposer aux mesures de ses ministres.

1° que souffrant que le parlement taxe les Américains arbitrairement lui ôte la plus belle prérogative de sa courronne en demandant à chacune de ces colonies des dons gratuits dans les tems difficiles ou suivant ses besoins, en observant avec elles les formes usitées au parlement pour les subsides, jamais les Américains ne s'étaient refusés à ces demandes sous les règnes précédents tant qu'on les a laissé les maîtres de la répartition; aller au contraire, est établir le pouvoir arbitraire et abolir la constitution Britannique.

Elles n'ont point de marine réglée mais elles ont eu pendant la guerre dernière un grand nombre d'armateurs. La facillité de construire et d'equiper des vaisseaux les mettrait bientôt en état d'avoir des flottes, leurs nombreux bâtiments marchands y pouvant fournir les matelots nécessaires. Elles n'ont point d'arsenaux ni de munitions en magasins publics, mais il se trouve dans le pays une grande quantité de canons de tous calibres propre à servir, appartenant aux particuliers ou aux provinces, sans compter le grand nombre qu'il y en a dans les forts de l'intérieur du pays et le long de la mer en batterie sur les ports, rivières et anses et que les troupes du Roi ne sauraient empêcher d'être pris par les habitans au premier signal de révolte. Il y a aussi beaucoup de poudre chez les commerçans parcequ'il s'en fait un gros trafic avec les sauvages. Les habitans sont abondamment pourvus d'armes. L'on n'y manque d'ailleurs ni de mines de toutes sortes de métaux ni d'ouvriers excellents pour les mettre en œuvre ainsi que pour faire du salpêtre de très bonne qualité et toutes sortes d'armes offensives et défensives. Le nombre des rivières navigables à une grande distance de leurs embouchures et l'abondance de provision de toutes espèces donnerait de la facilité d'en assembler en peu de temps et dans toutes les parties où le besoin l'exigerait pour faire subsister des troupes en corps d'armée.

Marine, Armée, etc.

Vivres.

Dans toutes les provinces (celle de Pensylvanie seule exceptée et qui cependant ferait je crois comme les autres si leurs libertés étaient en danger) les hommes depuis l'âge de seize jusqu'à cinquante ans, mariés ou non, sont obligés de servir pour la défense de leur colonie. Ils sont enrégimentés par comtés, precinct ou élection avec leurs officiers dont la plupart ont servis et ces régiments sont plus ou moins forts; c'était d'institution de tout temps parcequ'il était nécessaire dans l'etablissement que les hommes mariés aidassent à défendre leurs foyers. Mais aujourd'hui on compte que dans les provinces depuis la nouvelle Ecosee jusques et compris la Caroline méridionale seulement, il y a plus de deux cent mille jeunes gens en état de porter les armes, sans priver les terres des cultivateurs nécessaires.

Troupes du pays ou milices.

Les forts ou places de guerre dans l'intérieur du pays ou limitrophes aux sauvages ne méritent guère le nom de fortifications, si l'on en excepte un petit nombre entre le Canada et la Nouvelle France d'une part et les anciennes possessions anglaises de l'autre, encore sont elles en mauvais état et très mal tenues; celles de long de la mer comme Halifax, Boston, New York etc. situées sur la mer même ou dans des iles et bayes sont de peu de conséquence et mal entretenues. Les batteries construites et fortifiées ci-devant aux embouchures des rivières et anses ne valent pas la peine d'en parler dans l'état où elles sont actuellement. La raison de cette néglience est que les peuples n'ont guère plus à redouter les incursions des sauvages qui dépérissent et diminuent à vue d'œil. L'on croit la dépense de l'entretient des forts intérieurs inutile, d'autant plus que les frontières étant reculées de temps en temps il faudrait souvent en construire de nouveaux et l'Angleterre compte plus sur ses forces navales et sur les colonies mêmes que sur les places de guerre pour empêcher les puissances d'Europe de faire des descentes sur les côtes. Il est même plus que probable que si la cour voulait faire construire ou réparer des places de guerre le peuple des colonies s'y opposerait dans les circonstances présentes. Le gouvernement loin d'y augmenter les places a même fait rayer les ouvrages de Louisbourg; celles du Canada, les meilleures du nord de l'Amérique, sont assez mal entretennes ainsi que le fort Pitt sur le haut Ohio ci-devant appelé le fort Duquesne.

Fortifications.

Le Gouvernement du pays est analogue à celui d'Angleterre; il est composé dans chaque province d'un Gouverneur, d'un conseil du Roi et d'une assemblée ou chambre basse ce qui représente le Roi, la chambre des pairs et celle des communes du moins

Forme de gouvernement.

leurs fonctions se rapportent à celles de ces trois branches de legislature. Le Gouverneur est royal, de propriété ou electif suivant les provinces. Ceux de Pensylvanie et de Maryland sont gouverneurs de propriété, ceux de Connecticut et de Rhode-Island sont gouverneurs electifs et ceux de toutes les autres provinces sont royaux; plusieurs dépendent de l'assemblée pour leur traitement (la cour a exigé mais inutilement de la province de Massachusetts-Bay qu'elle fixe au sien des appointements et c'est en partie cause des troubles présents; Mr. Francis Bernard, Gouverneur actuel, ayant constamment prévenu l'esprit des ministres contre sa province aussi finira-t-il surement par être révoqué). Les conseils tiennent leurs commissions du bon plaisir du Roi, et les membres de l'assemblée sont élus par les villes, comtés et corporations, pour un, trois, cinq ou sept ans suivant les usages particuliers des provinces. C'est cette assemblée qui a seule le droit de taxer le peuple, lever des impôts, accorder des graces pecuniaires et les subsides. Les lois se proposent aussi par cette assemblée seule, mais elles ont besoin de l'approbation du conseil et de l'attache du gouverneur; le même concours est nécessaire pour en abroger d'anciennes, chaque province a droit d'en faire pourvu qu'elles ne soient pas contraires aux lois fondamentales de la Grande Bretagne. Les provinces sont indépendantes les unes des autres.

Le général commandant en chef des troupes du continent a droit de convoquer en quelque province et lieu qu'il lui plaise les états généraux du pays ou députés de toutes les colonies et de présider aux déliberations s'il veut s'y trouver. Les gouvernements ont voulu lui disputer la préséance chacun dans son propre gouvernement; mais le Roi a décidé la chose contre eux.

Finances.

Toutes les colonies sont endettées par les efforts qu'elles ont fait pendant la dernière guerre, d'assister en troupes, vaisseaux, vivres et argent leur métropole, et pour avoir trop dépensé en embellissement de leurs villes en edifices publiques de toutes espèces établissements de colléges et académies, en pensions accordées aux savants et artistes qu'on y a attirés de toutes parts, en choses utiles pour la commodité du commerce comme quais, marchés etc. et à ouvrir des communications et grands chemins. Les taxes ordinaires (quoiqu'augmentées considérablement en comparaison du peu que les colonies payaient ci-devant) ne suffirent plus à ces dépenses. Il a fallu avoir recours à des emprunts autorisés par la cour ce qui a donné lieu au papier monnaie qui depuis a fait beaucoup de mal au pays, les troubles présents y ayant mis le discrédit. Les espèces sont

devenues rares et ont disparues. La guerre en ayant beaucoup procuré, les habitans se sont abandonnés à une dépense proportionnée et ont tellement augmenté les choses de luxe qu'ils tiraient d'Angleterre qu'ils ne pourraient plus les payer qu'avec quatorze à quinze millions par an en argent comptant; par delà l'échange de leur productions pour solder la balance et cette diminution d'espèces se fait sentir d'avantage à mesure que le papier monnaie s'amortit (la cour ne voulant plus permettre de nouvelles émissions.)

Il y a des négociants et autres particuliers puissamment riches mais les trésors publics sont épuisés et les revenus des provinces aliénés.

Toutes les pièces d'or et d'argent des états souverains de l'Europe ont cours dans ce pays-ci pour leur juste valeur; les plus communes sont l'or du Portugal et l'argent d'Espagne il n'y en a presque point d'Angleterre si l'on excepte les pièces de cuivre.

L'on prétend (et la chose est probable par la raison ci-devant dite du discrédit du papier monnaie) qu'il y a de grosses sommes d'argent dans le pays, que les possesseurs retiennent durant ces difficultés; tout cela fait qu'on est gêné dans le commerce. Il n'y a donc que la paix, l'économie et le commerce avec les isles et le sud de l'Amérique ou en cas de rupture avec l'Angleterre un commerce ouvert avec toutes les nations qui puissent rendre à ce pays, l'opulence et l'aisance.

Le produit de ces colonies en des chevaux des bestiaux de toutes espèces et en grand nombre, toutes sortes de blés en abondance, du houblon, du riz, de l'indigo, du coton, de la cire, résine, goudron, tabac, bois de construction, lin chanvre, fer, salpêtre, plomb, cuivre, commes, cuirs, pelleteries, castors, baleines etc. La pêche est partout abondante, soit dans la mer, soit dans les rivières. Les viandes, la volaille et le gibier sont excellents et variés. Enfin c'est un pays qui produit au delà de ce qui est nécessaire à la subsistance des habitans, et l'on n'y éprouve point de disette ni d'années steriles.

J'y ai établi des correspondances par la Hollande et par Londres, afin d'être informé de tout ce qui y arrivera d'intéressant, pour pouvoir en rendre compte au ministre.

Correspondances établies.

Je suis en état de répondre plus en détail sur tout ce qui regarde ces colonies.

Signé DE KALB.

FAIT À PARIS, *ce 6 Août*, 1768.

2. KALB TO CHOISEUL.

PARIS, *le* 16 *Septembre*, 1768.

MONSEIGNEUR: J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser les nouvelles que je reçois de l'Amérique. Si j'ose vous communiquer mon idée particulière sur cette querelle, je pense que malgré les dépenses énormes que la cour d'Angleterre fait pour forcer ses colonies à la soumission qu'elle finira par ne faire aucun acte de regneur et à accorder aux colonies ce qu'ils demandent mon opinion est fondée autant sur la justice de leurs prétentions que sur les plaintes que les marchands et fabriquants anglais ne manqueront pas de porter au nouveau parlement sur la décadence de leur commerce depuis ces troubles, d'autant plus que tous les acts de parlement qui y ont donné lieu n'établissaient des impôts en Amérique que pour la défense du pays (du moins c'était le pretexte) quoique dans le fait c'est pour y entretenir nombre de pensionnaires et un plus grand nombre de troupes qu'il n'est nécessaire, enfin pour donner moyen aux ministres de distribuer plus de grâces et nullement pour le soulagement des trois royaumes ni pour contribuer au payement des dettes nationales. Si donc tous ces impôts ne doivent être employés au soutien des colonies et pour leur propre défense, pourquoi ne leur permettait-on pas de se taxer elles mêmes? pour subvenir à ces dépenses comme cela s'est pratiqué par le passé.

Mais je pense aussi que quelques mésures que le parlement et le ministère puissent prendre à présent, ils ne rétabliront point cette branche de commerce comme elle était. Le coup est porté, on a appris aux colonies à établir des manufactures de toutes espèces et à se passer de leur métropole qu'on emploie actuellement les voies de rigueur ou de douceur on ne saurait les forces à tirer d'Europe ce qu'ils trouvent chez elles, d'autant mieux qu'elles trouvent dans les isles et dans le sud de l'Amérique (sans compter leurs autres débouchés) un débit sûr de leurs produits et que les richesses de ce commerce leur resteront au lieu qu'elles étaient obligées de les envoyer ci-devant en Angleterre pour solder leurs comptes.

Je reviens toujours à dire, Monseigneur, que ces colonies sont trop utiles à la Grande Bretagne pour qu'elles exigent une rupture entière de la part de leur métropole et qu'elles n'accepteraient aucun secours étranger étant fort en état de se maintenir par leurs propres forces seules, j'ajouterai même qu'il ne serait pas de la saine politique d'une puissance quelconque de se mêler à cette querelle quand même elle

serait requise par les colonies (ce qui n'est pas probable) à moins qu'il n'y ait des actes d'hostilités commis entre l'Amérique et la Grande Bretagne que les colonies aient publié leur indépendance en tout point, qu'elles se soient unies par une Confédération générale qu'elles aient des armées sur pied qu'elles invitent par une résolution unanime et publique toutes les nations à venir commercer dans leurs ports et qu'elles soient en état de protéger ce commerce par une marine militaire ce qui rendrait impossible tout accommodement entre les deux partis, ce n'est qu'alors qu'on pourrait faire la guerre à l'Angleterre avec apparence de succès. La déclarer plutôt serait donner lieu à une prompte reconciliation et à s'attirer toutes les forces de l'Angleterre et celles de leurs colonies sur les bras. Je vous parle ainsi franchement, Monseigneur, parceque je ne voudrais pas, comme j'ai déja eu l'honneur de vous le dire qu'on vous trompât ni qu'on pût vous persuader que le moment fut favorable pour se brouiller avec nos voisins.

L'on me mande de Londres que l'amiral Spry doit avoir reçu ordre de proteger les vaisseaux anglais dans la Meditérannée et d'empêcher qu'ils ne soient visités par les vaisseaux français à quoi l'on ajoute que si l'amiral suit son instruction de point en point qu'il est presque impossible qu'il ne se commette des hostilités entre les deux nations. Cette nouvelle ne m'est pas donnée pour bien positive elle demande confirmation.

Je suis etc.

3. KALB TO CHOISEUL.

PARIS, *le* 6 *Novembre*, 1768.

J'ai l'honneur de vous adresser ci-joint les nouvelles que je reçois de l'Amérique. Elles ne peuvent être que peu intéressantes dans un temps où les ministres sont divisés et que le parti à prendre sur la conduite à tenir avec les colonies paraît être remis à la rentrée du parlement. Je suis toujours d'opinion qu'on n'emploiera point les voies de rigueur surtout lorsqu'on verra que les préparatifs de guerre n'inspirent pas de terreur à les peuples. Il est bien possible aussi que ces mêmes préparatifs aient un autre objet. Les Anglais ont une jalousie extreme de l'état florissant des isles francaises si vous leur faites la guerre, leur soin principal se portera sur cette partie et s'ils ont envie de vous la faire euxmêmes, jugez Monseigneur, des avantages que leur donnerait l'aproximité des subsistances et de leurs forces dans le continent de l'Amérique pour leurs premières opéra-

tions. Ils y ont actuellement dix neuf bataillons de sept cent hommes chacun, sans compter ce qu'ils ont dans leurs isles dont j'ignore le nombre et les secours qu'ils tireraient facilement de leurs colonies en rétablissant leurs priviléges et exemptions d'impôts. Je dois vous avoir marqué précédemment, Monseigneur, que ces mêmes colonies ont fourni à leurs frais 25000 hommes de bonnes troupes pendant la dernière guerre et leurs villes maritimes un grand nombre d'armateurs. Je ne sais au juste le nombre des vaisseaux de guerre employés dans les isles Anglaises, mais je suis certain de treize stationnés sur les forts depuis terre Neuve jusqu'aux isles Lucayes.

Je vous supplie d'être persuadé que mes réflexions ne sont que l'effet de mon zèle pour le service du Roi.

Je suis etc.

4. KALB TO CHOISEUL.

PARIS, *le* 15 *Novembre*, 1768.

MONSEIGNEUR: J'ai l'honneur de vous envoyer les nouvelles que je reçois d'Amérique. Je n'y ajoute aucune reflexion. La fermentation que ces écrits annoncent fait assez voir l'esprit de fermeté de ces peuples et les suites facheuses que cela pourrait avoir pour l'Angleterre s'il continuait à vouloir les soumettre par la force ce que je ne saurais me persuader. Je suis au contraire d'opinion que le prochain parlement employera des voies de conciliation; je ne doute pas non plus que le Gouverneur Bernard quoique soutenu jusqu'ici par le Ministère ne soit rappelé.

Je suis etc.

V.

COUNT BROGLIE TO COUNT ST. GERMAIN.

PARIS, *le* 13 *Novembre*, 1775.

MONSIEUR: Monsieur de Kalb, ancien major du regiment de Loewendal, et qui depuis la réforme de ce corps a été employé dans l'état major de l'armée d'Allemagne, où il a obtenu en 1761 le brevet de Lieutenant Colonel, est venu passer ici quatre mois cette année en conséquence des nouveaux arrangements faits par Mr. le maréchal Du Muy pour les officiers supérieurs réformés. Quoiqu'il ait été dans l'inaction depuis trop longtemps, je lui ai retrouvé ici, Monsieur le Comte, toutes les dispositions que je lui avais connues à la guerre, et

cela a renouvelé mes regrets de ne l'avoir pas vu placé avec utilité pour le service du roi et pour lui. Il sera digne d'un ministre comme vous de mettre ses talents en usage. Il en a de différens genres. Il parle bien plusieurs langues et peut être employé à tout ce que vous jugerez à propos. Je serai volontiers garant de son zèle et je suis sûr que vous aurez lieu d'être satisfait, si vous daignez le mettre en activité. J'ai l'honneur d'être etc.

LE COMTE DE BROGLIE.

VI.

KALB'S FURLOUGH.

A FONTAINEBLEAU, 4 *Novembre*, 1776.

Le Roy trouve bon, Monsieur, que vous vous absentiez du royaume pendant deux ans pour aller vaquer à vos affaires.

Je suis très parfaitement, Monsieur, votre très humble et obéissant serviteur.

ST. GERMAIN.

A MONSIEUR LE BARON DE KALB,
Lieutenant Colonel d'Infanterie.

VII.

SILAS DEANE'S AGREEMENT WITH KALB, LAFAYETTE, AND OTHERS.

(From the Diplomatic Correspondence of the Revolution, by Jared Sparks, Vol. I., pp. 62, 71, 97 and 98.)

List of Officers of infantry and light troops, destined to serve the United States of North America.

Name of Officers.	Rank.	Commencement of their pay.		
Baron de Kalb	Major General	7	November	1776.
Viscount de Mauroy	"	20	"	"
de Senneville	Major	7	"	"
Chev. du Buysson	"	7	"	"
Chev. de Fayolles	Lieutenant Colonel	20	"	"
Dubois Martin	Major	20	"	"
de Holtzendorff	Lieutenant Colonel	20	"	"
Le Chev. de Failly	"	1	December	"
Amariton	Major	1	"	"
de Roth	Captain	1	"	"

de Gerard	Captain	1	December	1776.
Philip de Boreval	Lieutenant	1	"	"
de Montes	"	1	"	"
Loquet de Granges	"	1	"	"
de Vrigny	Capt. Comp. franche	1	"	"
Candon	Lieutenant	1	"	"

The said ranks and pay at the dates marked in the present list have been settled mutually between us, the undersigned, me, Silas Deane, in my quality of the most Honorable Congress of the United States of North America and me John Baron de Kalb, Major-General in the service of the States General. Done double at Paris this 1st of December, 1776.

De Kalb.
Silas Deane.

List of Officers of infantry and light troops destined to serve in the armies of the United States of North America.

Names of Officers.	Rank.	Commencement of their pay.		
M. de Lafayette	Major-General	7	December	1776.
Baron de Kalb	"	7	November	"
Delesser	Colonel	1	December	"
de Valfort	"	1	"	"
de Fayolles	Lieutenant Colonel	1	"	"
Dubois Martin	Major	7	November	"
de Gimat	"	1	December	"
de Vrigny	Captain	1	"	"
de Bedaulx	blank			
Capitaine	Captain	1	"	"
de la Colombe	Lieutenant	1	"	"
Candon	"	7	November	"

The ranks and the pay, which the most honorable Congress shall affix to them to commence at the periods marked in the present list, have been agreed to by us the undersigned, Silas Deane in quality of deputy of the American States-General on the one part, the Marquis de Lafayette and the Baron de Kalb on the other part. Signed double at Paris this 7th of December, 1776.

Silas Deane.
The Marquis de Lafayette.
De Kalb.

The desire which the Marquis de Lafayette shows of serving among the troops of the United States of America, and the interest which he takes in the justice of their cause, make him wish to distinguish himself in this war, and to render himself as useful as he possibly can; but not thinking that he can obtain leave of his family to pass the seas, and serve in a foreign country, till he can go as a general officer, I have thought I could not better serve my country, and those who have intrusted me, than by granting to him, in the name of the very honorable Congress, the rank of Major-General, which I beg the States to confirm to him, to ratify and deliver to him the commission to hold and take rank, to count from this day, with the general officers of the same degree. His high birth, his alliances, the great dignities which his family holds at this Court, his considerable estates in this realm, his personal merit, his reputation, his disinterestedness, and above all his zeal for the liberty of our provinces, are such as to induce me alone to promise him the rank of Major-General in the name of the United States. In witness of which I have signed the present, this 7th of Decbr. 1776.

SILAS DEANE.

On the conditions here explained I offer myself and promise to depart when and how Mr. Deane shall judge proper, to serve the United States with all possible zeal, without any pension or particular allowance, reserving to myself the liberty of returning to Europe when my family or my king shall recall me.

Done at Paris 7th of Decbr. 1776.

THE MARQUIS DE LA FAYETTE.

VIII.

LETTERS WRITTEN BY FRENCH OFFICERS TO KALB, REQUESTING TO BE EMPLOYED IN AMERICA.*

1. MAJOR DU MONTBERT À MR. DE KALB.

LISIEUX, *le 23 Decembre* 1776.

Un de mes amis m'écrit du Havre, que vous voudriez bien, Mon-

* While these letters, which have been taken at random from a large number, on the one hand reveal the motives of the majority of the French officers in entering the American army, they, on the other hand, conclusively prove the excellence of the assistance thus rendered their arms.

sieur, avoir la bonté de vous intéresser pour un de mes parents, porteur de la présente, qui a servi en qualité de lieutenant au régiment de Champagne, l'espace de 17 ans, et qui a quitté le régiment, il y à peu près un an, pour des raisons qu'il vous dira lui-même. Il désirerait passer au service des insurgents. Je reclame votre protection à cet égard ; je ne doute pas de la réussite, si vous avez la bonté, Monsieur, de vous employer pour lui. C'est un très bon officier, sachant bien son métier, mais il est pauvre, et c'est cette pauvreté qui lui a fait perdre son état.

Les services, que vous voudrez bien lui rendre, me feront contracter à votre égard une obligation d'autant plus grande, que j'ai l'honneur d'être avec respect etc. etc.

2. LE CHEVALIER D'ESTIMAUVILLE À MR. DE KALB.

AU HAVRE, *le* 29 *Decembre*, 1776.

MONSIEUR : Je prends la liberté de vous écrire pour vous rappeler la promesse, que vous m'avez faite à l'occasion de Mr. le Chevalier du Montbert, dont vous trouverez ci-joint l'état de service. Je réitère ma prière pour vous engager à faire ce que vous pourrez pour rendre service à un brave officier, sur la disgrace duquel, il n'y a à reprocher, que des fautes de jeunesse et dont vous pourrez vous assurer par des informations à son ancien corps. En mon particulier, l'obligation que je vous en aurai ajoutera la plus vive reconnaissance aux sentimens de la plus parfaite considération et du profond respect avec laquelle je suis Monsieur etc.

P. S. Vous trouverez aussi ci-joint une lettre de Mr. du Montbert, major des ville et citadelle du Havre, oncle du postulant. Il désirerait savoir le plutôt possible, à quoi s'en tenir pour prendre les arrangements nécessaires.

3. MÉMOIRE.

État des services du sieur Antoine Augustin de Varennes, Chevalier du Montbert, gentilhomme, âgé de 36 ans, sortant du régiment de Champagne en qualité de lieutenant en premier.

Le dit officier a commencé à servir dans le corps de la gendarmerie, où il a fait la campagne de 1758 et y est resté jusqu'au mois de Novembre 1760. Il a joint ensuite le régiment de Champagne en qualité de lieutenant en Mars 1761, et y a fait le campagne de 1761 et 1762. Il a fait toute la campagne de 1762 aux volontaires de l'armée sous l'ordres de M. de la Motte.

Il a continué ses services au régiment de Champagne, jusqu'en Juin 1776, que des raisons de fortune, l'ont forcé de quitter le dit régiment.

Il a fait la campagne de 1769 en Corse. Il s'est trouvé à toutes les affaires où ont servi le régiment de Champagne et le corps des volon taires dans lequel il a fait la campagne de 1762.

Il a été choisi pour être, comme aide-major au bataillon d'instruction dans les manœuvres provisoires, qu'on exécute à Metz en 1775 et s'en est acquitté avec la satisfaction de ses supérieurs.

LE CHEVALIER DE VARENNES DU MONTBERT.

4. ÉTAT DES SERVICES DU CHEVALIER DE FAILLY.

Ce 6 Janvier, 1777.

Le Chevalier de Failly, capitaine de chasseurs au régiment d'Anjou, a commencé à servir sous-lieutenant dans le régiment de Royal-Wallon, le 5 Octobre 1746. Il s'est trouvé au siège de Bergen op Zoom, Maestricht, et à la bataille de Lafeld.

Reformé en 1749 avec tout le corps, il a continué son service dans les milices de Champagne. Il est entré en 1756 lieutenant en second avec rang de lieutenant dans le régiment de Berry. Il a fait toute la dernière guerre au Canada, toujours aux grenadiers ou volontaires. Il commandait la Vigilante sur le lac Champlain en 1759 qu'il a sauvée malgré les vaisseaux anglais, il a même eu 300 francs de gratification. Il a été incorporé avec tout son corps en 1763 dans celui d'Aquitaine. Il a fait la campagne de 1769 aux volontaires de l'armée de Corse. Il a obtenu la commission de capitaine, le 10 Septembre de la même année. Il a été embarqué sur la Mignone pour le bombardement de Tunis en 1770. Il désirerait être employé en cette qualité dans telle partie du monde, qu'il plaira à Sa Majesté de l'envoyer. Il supplie le Ministre d'avoir égard à son peu de fortune.

LE CHEVALIER DE FAILLY.

Monsieur Le Baron de Kalb, brigadier des armées du Roi, est prié de ne pas oublier le dit Chevalier de Failly. Il se fait une fête d'être employé sous ses ordres. Il est pour la vie dans ces sentimens-là. Il fait des vœux pour l'entière satisfaction de Monsieur Le Baron de Kalb et lui est attaché et finit avec un très profond respect etc. etc.

5. LE CHEVALIER DE FRANVAL À M. LE BARON DE KALB.

DORREC, *ce 6 Février*, 1777.

MONSIEUR: J'ai l'honneur de vous écrire pour être informé au juste si je puis compter passer en Amérique. L'on mande de Versailles que la cour ne veut plus permettre à aucun officier de quitter le royaume; que le Docteur Franklin a reçu des ordres de quitter la France, ainsi que Monsieur Deane. Ces nouvelles-là ne dénoteraient rien de bon pour les projets que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous communiquer tant pour faire la guerre que pour m'établir en Amérique. Je vous prie, Monsieur, d'avoir la bonté de m'instruire sur ces objets. J'espère, que vous ne trouverez pas mauvais, que je me sois adressé à vous. La bonne volonté, que vous avez bien voulu marquer à m'obliger m'a déterminé. Monsieur le Maréchal de Broglie ne va pas encore à Paris, j'en suis très faché—je me flattais qu'il vous aurait rendu assez bon compte de moi pour mériter votre estime et vous engager plus particulièrement à vous y intéresser. J'ai l'honneur d'être etc. etc.

IX.

KALB'S ENTRANCE INTO THE AMERICAN SERVICE.

1. WILLIAM CARMICHAEL TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.*

PARIS, *March*, 1777.

SIR: As your brother, Arthur Lee, Esq., is not on the spot, I take the liberty, in consequence of his request, to inform you of his health; he is now at Burgos, in Spain, where he remains in consequence of the request of the Spanish ministry, to negotiate on behalf of the United States. From what he writes me, I hope he will at least get some money on our account. Your brother, the alderman, as I am just informed by a gentleman from London, is well. I take the liberty of introducing to your notice and protection the Marquis Lafayette and Baron de Kalb. The former is of the first distinction,

* Carmichael was at that time the secretary of the American Commissioners Deane, Franklin, and Arthur Lee, at Paris. Richard Henry Lee, the brother of the latter, was one of the most influential members of Congress, and chairman of the committee to investigate the claims of the foreign officers. He was a stanch friend of Kalb's to the death of the latter.

for birth, fortune, and family here: the other, of the highest reputation in the service, and strongly recommended by the Marshal de Broglie and the Marshal de Mallabois. The former's family are our strong support. His uncle is ambassador at the Court of London, and from his representations we hope to bring on a war, much sooner than it would otherwise happen. I hope he (the Marquis) will have every reason to think favorably of the country. I have the honor to be, with much respect, etc. etc.

2. KALB TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

BRISTOL, *Sept.* 16, 1777.

SIR: I am unable to tell you with how much reluctance and even sorrow I must acquaint you that I cannot accept of the honor Congress intended to me, for the various reasons I explained to you, Sir, to several members of Congress, but more particularly to Mr. Lovell, and which I repeat to Mr. Secretary Thomson; they are all of great weight with me. I beseech you, dear Sir, to lay before Congress, that I have, and always shall retain the highest sense of thankfulness and veneration for the whole of so respectable a body of men, and for each of the members in particular. My most sincere vows will ever be for success to all their measures and undertakings, and for the general welfare and happiness of your States. I will never forget the private obligations I owe to several of your gentlemen, but especially to your kindness to me. I never will be happier than when I shall hear from you, or when I shall be able to convince you of the esteem and respect with which I have the honor to be, Sir, etc. etc.

3. KALB TO RICHARD HENRY LEE.

CAMP AT WHITE PLAINS, *August* 17, 1778.

SIR: I received both letters you honored me with, dated 15th of February and 23d of March last past, but rather late; the first came to hand the 20th of May and the second in June. A long sickness, the march of the army while I was yet very unwell, and a good deal of business since my recovery, have prevented me from answering before now. You are much in the right, Sir, to think that the change in political matters must place your independence beyond all doubt, and far beyond the power of England to disturb; I heartily rejoice with you and all true Americans on the occasion. It is to be expected, also, the alliance with France and the real assistance the king intends to the States, must needs procure you a speedy and last-

ing peace. This day I wrote to President Laurens, in favor of Mons. le Vicomte de Mauroy and Mons. le Chev. de Fayolles, which will be laid before the supreme council of the States. I need not to trouble you with the contents of it. I will only observe to you, that I am ordered to do the same by Marshal Duke de Broglie, and the count his brother; and as they expect my answer, on that account I should be greatly obliged to you if you would be pleased to let me have the reasons for or against, as the matter will be debated in Congress, and to be very particular in that respect. Though I ardently wish Mons. de Mauroy's request be granted, yet I am afraid it will not, by reason of a letter he wrote, as I understood, to Congress, not very acceptable. If he is refused on that account I should be glad to have it mentioned, because I think his noble protectors are unacquainted with this piece of bad policy of his. I have the honor to be, with great respect and esteem, dear Sir, etc. etc.

X.

LAFAYETTE TO MRS. GEYMÜLLER, WHOSE MAIDEN NAME WAS KALB.

LA GRANGE, *près Rosey, ce* 11 *Floréal, an IX* (*Avril* 1800).

Je vous remercie, Madame, de la confiance dont vous m'honorez, et des détails que vous avez bien voulu me donner. C'est avec un vif intérêt que j'ai appris des nouvelles d'une famille à laquelle je me sens lié par mon ancienne amitié pour le général de Kalb. Je serai toujours heureux de rendre à sa mémoire, ce que je lui dois.

Vous savez sans doute que Mr. votre père après avoir fait avec distinction la guerre de sept ans fut envoyé par Mr. de Choiseul dans les colonies Anglaises de l'Amérique septentrionale pour prendre connaissance de ce pays, qui avait été l'occasion de la rupture entre les cours de Versailles et de Londres. Il était naturel que la déclaration d'indépendance des États Unis inspirât au général Kalb le désir d'y retourner. Son départ fut encouragé par le comte de Broglie et approuvé secrètement par le gouvernement français. C'est dans ce temps qu'à l'insu du gouvernement et bientôt après malgré lui que je fis connaissance avec les envoyées du Congrès. Nous partimes ensemble de Paris, nous arrivâmes en semble à Charleston et à Philadelphie, d'où je joignis l'armée. Quelques circonstances retardèrent son entrée au service. Il fut peu de temps après placé avec le premier grade militaire, celui de Major Général. C'est en cette qualité

qu'il commandait un corps d'armée dans la Caroline du Nord, lorsque le général Gates vint prendre le commandement en chef. Il fut battu à Camden par Lord Cornwallis. Le général Kalb se montra général habile et soldat intrépide. Sa division soutint la première l'effort des ennemis. L'affaire eut pu se retablir, s'il n'avait été mortellement blessé. Les deux armés rendirent hommage à ses talents et à son courage, qui même dans un général mérita d'être remarqué. Son mérite militaire, sa loyauté civique, ses qualités sociales, le firent honorer et regretter par les troupes, le peuple, le général Washington et le Congrès. Ses amis personnels furent vivement affligés et personne plus que moi, Madame, qui lui était attaché par affection, la reconnaissance et une fraternité d'armes, commencée des mes premiers pas dans cette carrière.

Si de nouveaux renseignemens, si des attestations d'Amérique, si mes propres témoignages peuvent vous être utiles, donnes-moi vos ordres. Je vous aurai une sensible obligation de m'indiquer comment je pourrai acquitter une dette sacrée de l'amitié que j'avais vouée à Mr. votre père.

Agréez, je vous prie, l'expression de mon respect et de mes vœux pour votre bonheur. LAFAYETTE.

XI.

FRANKLIN AND DEANE TO THE COMMITTEE OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

PARIS, 25 *May*, 1777.

* * * The Marquis de Lafayette, a young nobleman of great family connections here and great wealth, is gone to America in a ship of his own, accompanied by some officers of distinction, in order to serve in our armies. He is exceedingly beloved and everybody's good wishes attend him; we cannot but hope he may meet with such a reception as will make the country and his expedition agreeable to him. Those who censure it as imprudent in him do nevertheless applaud his spirit, and we are satisfied that the civilities and respect that may be shown to him will be serviceable to our affairs here, as pleasing not only to his powerful relations and to the Court but to the whole French nation. He has left a beautiful young wife, and for her sake particularly we hope that his bravery and ardent desire to distinguish himself will be a little restrained by the General's prudence, so as to not permit his being hazarded much, but on some important occasion.

XII.

KALB AND CONGRESS.

Monday, 8th *September*, 1777.

Congress took into consideration the report of the committee on foreign applications, wherein they set forth:

That besides a number of officers who are come from Europe and the West Indies of their own accord to solicit for rank and employment in the American army, there are others who have proceeded upon the encouragement of conventions made and signed at Paris by Silas Deane, Esq., as agent for the United States of North America; that Mr. Deane had no authority to make such conventions, and that Congress therefore are not bound to ratify or and fulfil them:

Your committee for this, report that the Baron de Kalb and the Viscount de Mauroy, with a number of officers who came with them from France, have offered their service, provided their engagements with Mr. Deane, in respect to rank, are fulfilled; but that the American army having been arranged before the arrival of these gentlemen in America, their expectations cannot be complied with without deranging it and thereby injuring at so critical a juncture the American cause: that the zeal, however, of these gentlemen and their consequent expenses merit the attention of Congress; wherefore your committee report the following resolve:

Resolved: that the thanks of Congress be given to the Baron de Kalb and the Viscount de Mauroy, with the officers who accompany them, for their zeal for passing over to America to offer their service to these United States, and that their expenses to this Continent and on their return to France be paid.

Resolved: that Congress agree to the said report and resolve.

Ordered: that the Baron de Kalb and the Viscount de Mauroy be furnished with a copy of the foregoing report and resolution, attested by the Secretary.

Sunday, 14th *September*, 1777.

The committee on the treasury brought in a report, whereupon:

Resolved: that the president draw Bills of exchange on the Commissioners of Congress at Paris in favor of the several officers and for the several sums hereinafter mentioned, the said bills to be made payable at thirty days after sight and to express value received

by and chargeable to Congress, viz. A set in favor of Baron de Kalb for 6000 livres tournois. — —

Resolved: that there be paid to the following gentlemen the several sums hereafter specified to defray, with the sums above directed to be drawn in bills of exchange on the commissioners at Paris in their favor, the expenses of their coming from France and returning thither, viz. — — to Baron de Kalb 500 dollars.

Monday, 15th *September*, 1777.

Resolved, that another major general be appointed in the army of the United States; the ballots being taken, Baron de Kalb was elected.

4th *October*, 1777.

"Congress resumed the consideration of the report from the board of war, whereupon:

Resolved: that the Baron de Kalb be at liberty to give up his commission of major general, if the contingency mentioned in his letter of the 28th of last month should happen.

That the Baron de Kalb's commission be dated the same day with that of the Marquis de Lafayette, agreeably to the Baron's request.

That a compliance with the 4th and 5th articles of Baron de Kalb's letter would be improper at this time, as Congress have not made any provision for their own officers, with whom foreign officers of equal merit and service will always be considered on a footing."

(The first paragraph of this resolution alludes to the stipulation that Kalb's entrance into the American army was subject to the sanction of the Broglies and of the French ministry, and must be revocable in default of such approval. He evidently feared, as is mentioned in the text, that the return of the other French officers who had come with him would produce a revulsion of sentiment in the cabinet; but was mistaken in this impression, as appears from the following letter of Kalb to Henry Laurens, President of Congress.)

Camp at Whiteplains, 17th *August*, 1778.

"Sir: When Congress were pleased to honor me with the commission of Major General in the army of the United States, your Excellency may remember my apprehensions of being blamed at home for staying almost alone when many others of the French officers that came in my company, were refused service and went back. I accepted the honor conferred upon me on condition that if I was

disapproved by the king's ministers or by my friends, I should be at liberty to resign whenever I pleased.

"By a letter just now received from Messieurs the Marshal Duke de Broglie and Count de Broglie his brother, I find my conduct approved by both as well as by the ministry, as having acted up to the purport of my furlough."

XIII.

1. KALB'S OATH OF ALLEGIANCE.

I, John Baron de Kalb, Major General, do acknowledge the United States of America to be Free, Independent and Sovereign States, and declare, that the people thereof owe no allegiance or obedience to George the Third, King of Great Britain; and I renounce, refuse and abjure any allegiance or obedience to him, and I do swear that I will to the utmost of my power, support, maintain and defend the said United States against the said King George the Third, his heirs and successors and his or their abettors, assistants and adherents, and will serve the said United States in the office of Major General, which I now hold, with fidelity, according to the best of my skill and understanding.

JOHN BARON DE KALB.

Sworn before me, Camp at Valley
Forge, the 12th day of May, 1778.
G° WASHINGTON.

2. OATHS OF THE SOLDIERS.

HEAD QUARTERS, VALLEY FORGE, *May 7th*, 1778.

In order to accomplish this very interesting and essential work as early as possible, the following officers are to administer the oaths, and grant certificates to the officers of the Divisions, Brigades, and Corps, set against their names, including the Staff: Major-General Lord Stirling to the officers of the late Conway's Brigades; Major-General Marquis De La Fayette, to those of Woodford's and Scott's Brigades; Major-General De Kalb to those of Glover's and Larned's Brigades, etc., etc.

XIV.

KALB'S CIPHER.

(From a letter to his wife from Middlebrook, April 10, 1779.)

Dans une de mes lettres à Mr. le comte de Broglie
167 359 607 787 726 657 502 519 1363 250 1277
je parle de la san té de Mr. Gérard, disant que s'il
379 1204 204 803 989 607 502 220 342 377 131 472
vient vite a manquer — ou comme il est possible qu'il
713 305 836 728 1282 454 103 531 515 835 630
demande son rappel je se rais fort ai sé de lui
198 1080 825 302 379 298 57 901 156 939 607 385
succeder dans son ministère ici. Vois sur cela
1222 1470 407 1565 368. 622 M Dubois 492 367
je suis sur que Mr. Gérard a écrit qu'il se ra
158 43 966 421 502 220 763 186 953 298 1053 455 537
re qu'il lui en coûte dé jà plus de trente mille livres
917 403 941 587 1465 195 776 625 573 86 530 1117
du si en. Il con vient de dire que suivant ce que
263 238 819 169 116 348 250 227 976 984 170 131
je t' écris de la cherté de toutes choses cela ne peut
379 702 186 750 185 607 399 270 367 885 739
etre autrement. Afinque la place ne soit pas courue et
311 752 458 731 1085 413 497 318 1090 917
l'a faire solliciter pour moi sous pretexte que je suis tout
636 550 390 742 1210 322 1430 421 158 582 1161
à partie et que pu is qu'il m' en coute beaucoup
836 1212 289 131 823 236 630 716 365 1465 761
pour servir les etats là j'ai me rais bien mieux employer
616 397 357 251 1043 269 536 57 136 848 392
cette depen-e au service direct du Roi. Dis toujours que
317 308 115 397 1327 575 77 342 496 131
je me ru i ne pour mon avan ce ment. Emploie
158 958 1053 455 413 616 652 637 170 907 392
y Mr. Dubois M et le Bourgeois de l'extérieur. Tu ferais
1514 502 485 519 1363 195 1248 1112
tres bien de parler à Versailles à Mr. Mo r eau prémier
695 136 573 622 140 81 502 562 585 271 412
Secrétaire de Vergennes sous pretexte que je t'en prie de
88 607 809 322 1430 421 379 555 762 607

me ra pel ler à son souvenir et dela tu pour rais
536 341 733 557 267 407 715 723 244 1112 742 965
prendre occasion de lui parlez de cette affaire et le prie-
842 518 195 385 1204 250 401 120 289 769 762
er de te faire avertir ou d'en avertir Mr. le comte
405 250 989 821 659 454 162 659 502 615 1363
de Broglie des qu'il se- rait question de re em placer
373 1277 315 403 298 1078 481 573 609 233 1085
Mr. Gérard afinque cela soit sollicité Mr. Moreau
502 220 458 367 497 390 616 1210 502 562
même pour rait me proposer au ministre. Je fe rais en
604 616 68 951 960 271 1276 890 362 57 365
sorte que deux ou trois ans en cette place nous donne
858 131 488 956 593 370 587 560 1083 414 566
raient de l' ai sance.
1054 573 558 156 803

XV.

KALB TO THE PRINCE DE MONTBAREY (PAR M. GÉRARD).

Du Camp de Buttermilk Falls, *le* 31 *Août*, 1779.

Monseigneur : Lorsqu'avec votre agrément, je convins avec les commissionaires américains d'aller servir les Etats Unis en qualité d'officier général, j'obtins un congé du roi et votre promesse pour des grâces de sa Majesté proportionnées aux risques d'une entreprise de cette nature. J'avais lieu de me flatter qu'on ne me laisserait pas partir sans être brigadier des armées du roi, mais monsieur le comte de Saint Germain ne voulant pas faire de promotion expresse pour moi, le brevet de brigadier pour les îles me fut expédié par monsieur de Sartine le 6 Novembre 1776. J'espérais que je serais compris dans la première promotion que le ministre de la guerre ferait (cependant jusqu'àprésent, je n'ai rien appris à ce sujet) et que cela me ménèrait à devenir dans peu maréchal de camp, surtout depuis le traité d'alliance du roi avec ces états, que les officiers français les servant, doivent être avoués de leur cour et traités en consequence. Ce n'est que dans cette espérance que je me suis determiné au parti d'abandonner ma famille et le soin de mes affaires pour un temps considérable, pour m'exposer aux accidents de la mer, de la guerre, des fatigues d'un climat défavorable et d'une dépense excessive, mais indispen-

sable, occassionée par la cherté exhorbitante de toutes choses, et le nombre d'officiers français qui abondent à ma table; parceque je suis le seul général major de la nation, ils me considèrent comme leur chef.

J'ai l'honneur de servir sa Majesté comme officier depuis la fin de 1743 de la création du regiment de Loewendal. Capitaine et aide major de 1747. Major de 1756. Le dit regiment ayant été incorporé en Mars 1760 contre toute équité et les termes exprès, accordés à feu monsieur le maréchal de Loewendal, lors de la levée de ce corps (qu'il ne serait jamais ni réformé ni traité différemment des regiments d'Alsace, Saxe, la Mark, Royal Suédois et Royal Bavière). En conservant de moins anciens à son préjudice, je perdis par cette incorporation dix huit mille livres du plus clair de mon patrimoine, que j'avais données, avec l'attache de monsieur le comte d'Argenson, ministre de la guerre, d'alors pour la majorité du dit régiment, indépendamment de mon traitement de 4050 livres comme major d'un ancien régiment qui fut réduit à 1800 livres comme capitaine d'Anhalt qui reçut le premier bataillon de Loewendal.

Tant de désagrements ne me firent rien diminuer de mon zèle pour le service du roi. J'acceptai en Mai 1760 des lettres de service d'aide maréchal général des logis de l'armée sous les ordres de Monsieur le maréchal de Broglie et j'en continuai les fonctions jusqu'à la fin de la guerre en 1763. Je fus fait lieutenant colonel en Mai 1761. Tous mes cadets d'Etat major sont brigadiers ou maréchaux de camp. J'ai constamment resté à l'armée pendant toute la durée des guerres de Flandre et d'Allemagne.

A la paix Mons. le duc de Choiseul me donna des appointements de réforme jusqu'à ce qu'il put me replacer à la tête d'un régiment allemand, ce qui à la verité n'eut jamais lieu, soit par oubli de sa part, soit par manque d'importunité de la mienne. En Août 1767 il me fit appeler, m'expédia un ordre pour être employé à la reconnaissance des côtes maritimes de Calais et de Flandre, mais changea aussitôt cette destination en une commission particulière de confiance pour la Hollande et suivant les circonstances pour le Nord de l'Amérique sous de grandes promesses de faveur et d'avancement, qu'il n'a néanmoins point remplies à mon retour (quoiqu'il fut très-content du compte que je lui rendis à la fin de 1768) probablement par la multiplicité d'affaires plus importantes; et qu'en suite, quand je l'en fis resouvenir et qu'il me renouvela ses promesses, son deplacement subit ne lui en laissa pas le temps. Messieurs Gayots, Toullon,

Charlot et si je ne me trompe, Monsieur de Saint Paul, m'ont blamé de n'avoir pas demandé à être fait brigadier avant mon départ en 1767, que je l'eusse été sans difficulté.

Je ne répéterai pas tous les dangers auxquels ce voyage m'a exposé. Le compte de ma mission consigné au dépôt de la guerre fait mention d'une parti des divers accidents, comme mon naufrage près Staten Island, le 28 Janvier 1768, d'avoir échappé seul de neuf, aux effets du froid excessif enduré pendant 13 heures sans abris, en sortant des flots, les autres huit étant morts pendant la nuit même, ou peu après. Je dirai seulement et puis le dire avec raison que ce que j'ai souffert pendant ce voyage, passerait la croyance si cela n'était pas de notoriété publique, et si fort au dessus de la classe ordinaire des services, que j'eusse dû avoir les plus grandes recompenses.

C'est sans doute à vous, Monseigneur, que cet acte de justice est réservé a faire et j'ose m'en flatter. Il y a plus de deux ans que je sers les Etats Unis en qualité de général major, le grade le plus élévé dans leurs armées après le commandant en chef de toutes leurs forces, et comme depuis leur independance reconnue par le roi, je ne me crois plus libre de quitter sans vos ordres ou permission, je continuerai à les servir, tant que la guerre durera ou que ma santé me le permettra, à moins d'ordres contraires, et aux conditions, toute fois que cela me conduise à mon but. Mon absence de chez moi, les risques de la guerre, les dangers à courir de la part des ennemis internes du pays, les fatigues, le mal être, le climat, la dépense, enfin tous les sacrifices que je fais, doivent me mériter vos bontés, j'y compte et je vous supplie de me les accorder, en vous chargeant, Monseigneur, de mon avancement auquel toutes les autres grâces, dont je pourrais être susceptible, doivent céder. Il y en a cependant une autre, qui me conviendrait et une qui me serait nécessaire, c'est le grand cordon de l'ordre du mérite militaire, et des secours en argent. Si j'étais riche, je ne parlerais pas des grâces pecuniaires, mais ma fortune étant bornée, il n'est pas juste non plus de sacrifier le bien, qui sera un jour nécessaire à mes fils pour les soutenir au service de leur maître, ni de m'ôter la faculté de pouvoir marier ma fille. Madame de Kalb me gronde fortement a cette occasion, je lui récomande d'avoir l'honneur de se plaindre à vous, Monseigneur, et de vous engager à y trouver un remède.

J'ai souvent été tenté de vous rendre compte des opérations de nos armées américaines et anglaises, mais n'ayant pas de chiffres, je n'ai pas osé le risquer. Les lettres prises par les ennemis étant communément rendues publiques, de plus fortes raisons encore, m'ont em-

pêché de vous envoyer des plans, que je me reserve de vous remettre vous même à mon retour.

Je suis avec respect

Monseigneur Votre etc.

P. S. Le 10 Novembre même camp.

Je profite du départ de Monsieur Gerard, que je regarde comme une voie sûr pour faire passer celle ci, j'y eusse joint quelques plans si nos équipages n'étaient pas à une trop grande distance du camp.

XVI.

GENERAL WASHINGTON TO THE PRESIDENT OF CONGRESS.

HEAD QUARTERS, *April 3d*, 1780.

SIR: I have frequently had the honor to address Congress on the subject of those corps, which are unconnected with the lines of particular States. Satisfied of the numerous perplexities under which they labor, it is with pain and reluctance I trouble them with repeated representations of the same nature; but in the present case it is so indispensable that something should be done, that I cannot forbear the repetition, however disagreeable. The situation of the officers of these corps is absolutely insupportable. Unless something effectual can be done to make it more comfortable, it is impossible they can remain in the service. The resolutions of Congress for making them part of the State quotas has partial operation, and the benefit resulting to a few has only served to establish a contrast that embitters the sufferings of the rest. Nothing can be conceived more chagrining than for an officer to see himself destitute of every necessary while another, not only in the service of the same government, engaged in defending the same cause, but even in the same regiment, and sometimes standing by his side in the same company, is decently if not amply provided. Enthusiasm alone can support him in a moment's perseverance, but even this principle must give way to a necessity so continued and hopeless. Daily applications are made to me to know whether there is a prospect of relief, always accompanied with a declaration, that it is impossible any longer to endure the extremities to which they are driven.

I entreat the attention of Congress to this matter. If there is no way to make provision for the officers, it would be better to dissolve the corps, incorporate the men with the regiments belonging to the

State lines, and let the officers retire with pay and subsistence, and such other emoluments as may be enjoyed by others after the war. In their present state, they are actually suffering every inconvenience, in fruitless expectations of a remedy that will perhaps never come; those who have less resource, less zeal, or less fortitude, are resigning from day to day. A relaxation from care in the interior of the regiments must be a necessary consequence; and many valuable men will be gradually lost to the service, who might be saved. It is much better, therefore, that the expedient suggested should be adopted, than that things should remain as now circumstanced. But if it were possible to obviate this necessity, it were much to be wished, as it would preserve many of our best officers to the army, who would with infinite reluctance quit the field, while the defence of their country called for their services.

Before I conclude, I think it my duty to touch upon the general situation of the army at this juncture. It is absolutely necessary that Congress should be apprised of it, for it is difficult to foresee what may be the result; and as very serious consequences are to be apprehended, I should not be justified in preserving silence. There never has been a stage of the war, in which the dissatisfaction has been so general or alarming. It has lately, in particular instances, worn features of a very dangerous complexion. A variety of causes has contributed to this; the diversity in the terms of enlistments, the inequality of the rewards given for entering into the service, but still more the disparity in the provisions made by the several States for their respective troops. The system of State supplies, however dictated in the commencement by necessity, has proved in its operation pernicious beyond description. An army must be raised, paid, subsisted, and regulated upon an equal and uniform principle, or the confusion and discontents are endless. Little less than the dissolution of the army would have been long since the consequence of a different plan, had it not been for a spirit of patriotic virtue, both in officers and men, of which there are few examples, seconded by the unremitting pains that have been taken to compose and reconcile them to their situation. But these will not be able to hold out much longer against the influence of causes constantly operating, and every day with some new aggravation.

Some States, from their internal abilities and local advantages, furnish their troops pretty amply, not only with clothing, but with many little comforts and conveniences; others supply them with some necessaries, but on a more contracted scale; while others have it in

their power to do little or nothing at all. The officers and men in the routine of duty mix daily and compare circumstances. Those who fare worse than others of course are dissatisfied, and have their resentment excited, not only against their own State, but against the Confederacy. They become disgusted with a service that makes such injurious distinctions. The officers resign, and we have now scarcely a sufficient number left to take care even of the fragments of corps which remain. The men have not this resource. They murmur, brood over their discontent, and have lately shown a disposition to enter into seditious combinations. A new scene is now opening, which I fear will be productive of more troublesome effects than any thing that has hitherto taken place. Some of the States have adopted the measure of making good the depreciation of the money to their troops, as well for the past as for the future. If this does not become general, it is so striking a point, that the consequences must be unspeakably mischievous. I enter not into the propriety of this measure in the view of finance, but confine myself to its operation in the army. Neither do I mean to insinuate, that the liberality of particular States has been carried to a blamable length. The evil I mean to point out is the inequality of the different provisions, and this is inherent in the present system. It were devoutly to be wished that a plan could be devised by which everything relating to the army could be conducted on a general principle, under the direction of Congress. This alone can give harmony and consistence to our military establishment, and I am persuaded it will be infinitely conducive to public economy. I hope I shall not be thought to have exceeded my duty in the unreserved manner in which I have exhibited our situation. Congress, I flatter myself, will have the goodness to believe, that I have no other motives than a zeal for the public service, a desire to give them every necessary information, and an apprehension for the consequences of the evils now experienced.

I have the honor to be, etc.

XVII.

COLONEL NICHOLAS ROGERS, OF BALTIMORE, TO GENERAL HENRY LEE.*

NEW YORK, *24th January*, 1810.

MY DEAR SIR: Respecting my good and old friend the Baron de Kalb, about whom we have formerly had some conversation, I wish I could give you such information as would contribute to make your intended publication interesting as the world will naturally expect from your pen; but the long lapse of time and other circumstances, may probably, contrary to your expectations, render it rather scanty; however, such as it is, I am happy to place it at your service.

In frequent conversations with him on the affairs of our country —then almost the only topic of conversation—he has repeatedly told me of his having been in this country between the years 1763 and 1765, in a concealed character,—as a German travelling for his pleasure. This he did, from one end of the continent to the other; and, as I know him to have been an acute observer, he must have picked up a great deal of information for the French Court, by which, I have no doubt, he was expressly employed for that particular purpose.

Speaking the English language well, and possessing the most conciliating and condescending manners, he had it in his power to insinuate himself everywhere, from the drawing-room down to the grog-shop, and be assured that he culled from every group something appertaining to his mission, and marked well, in every countenance even, and conversation, the particular partialities and antipathies towards the two great leading nations of Europe, Great Britain and France. He often declared to me that such was the universal prepossession in favor of the former, and the almost instinctive hostility to the latter, that he sincerely believed and often said that nothing could have induced the Americans to have revolted against the mother-country

* Rogers had been Kalb's aid in Valley Forge and at the lines between Elizabethtown and Amboy. When writing his memoirs on the revolution in the South, Henry Lee applied to Rogers for information about Kalb. The above letter was the reply. I found it in the little pamphlet published by J. Spear Smith. The errors in them, growing out of slips of memory, are corrected in the text; some of the statements are exaggerated; nevertheless the production is highly interesting.

but the highly injudicious and short-sighted conduct of the British ministry, whom he frequently ridiculed for their egregious folly in so wantonly casting off such an inestimable and powerful auxiliary.

He has often told me that, in all his travels from North to South, he could find nobody of any consequence, either native or British, who did not think that Old England was the *ne plus ultra* and perfection of all human power.

In the latter part of his residence amongst us, in his assumed character, he became, by some accident, suspected, was taken up, and was, I believe, put into prison for a few days. However, he soon made his way good and was released, for on examining his papers and baggage, nothing could be found to implicate him, because he never then kept, as he told me, anything like a manuscript, trusting all to his memory, which I knew to be great. It was hardly possible to find a man more completely suited to such a mission, his wonderful sobriety and temperance at table being almost to excess and without example.

In Europe, I believe, he was engaged chiefly in the Quartermaster Department, where, from his great aptitude for detail and minutiæ, he must have been valuable. Had we here employed him in that line he might have been of great service, for we frequently felt many inconveniences and suffered much from our ill-judged arrangements and want of foresight.

Besides his extreme temperance, sobriety and prudence, with his great simplicity of manners which highly fitted him for his undertaking, he had also many of the other qualifications for a soldier, such as patience, long-suffering, strength of constitution, endurance of hunger and thirst, and a cheerful submission to every inconvenience in lodging, for I have known him, repeatedly, to arrange his portmanteau as a pillow, and wrapping his great horseman's cloak around him stretch himself before the fire and take as comfortable a nap as if upon a bed of eider-down. He would rise before day, light his candles and work till nine, then take a slice of dry bread with a glass of water, and go to work again until about twelve or one, when he would ride to headquarters, pick up the news of the day, and return to dinner. This meal consisted of a little soup and a shin of beef, or of a dry tasteless round, with his favorite beverage, water. After this he would go to work again, and so continue until dark, when, without using his candle, he would get to bed, that he might rise at the earliest hour in the morning. This was his mode

of life generally, whilst we were at the Valley Forge, where we all suffered not a little.

In size, he was a perfect Ariovistus, being upwards of six feet, and fully equal to the fatigues of a soldier. He would often walk twenty or thirty miles a day without sigh, or complaint, and, indeed, often preferred that exercise to riding. His complexion and skin were remarkable, being as fair and fresh as those of a youth.

The observations and information of so judicious a person as Baron de Kalb, would help much to open our eyes to the conduct of the French court during our contest, particularly during the earlier part of it, for it was incomprehensible to us and to the world in general, why the French should be so long timidly hesitating whether they should take an unequivocal part in our favor, when, apparently, there never was so good an opportunity offered to a rival nation, to injure an opponent, so eternally and deadly hostile.

XVIII.

GENERAL HENRY LEE ON KALB.

(From his Memoirs of the War in the Southern Department of the United States. Appendix D, p. 424 et seq.)*

General Baron de Kalb was a German by birth, and from the best information obtainable must have served during the war of 1756 in some inferior stations of the quartermaster-general's department in the imperial army, operating with that of his most christian Majesty, it being well ascertained by his acquaintances in our army, that he was intimately versed in the details of that department. Towards the close of that war he must have been despatched by the French court to North America, as he himself often mentioned his having traversed the then British provinces in a concealed character; the object of which tour cannot be doubted, as the baron never failed, when speaking of the existing war, to express his astonishment, how any government could have so blundered as to efface the ardent and deep affection which to his own knowledge existed on the part of the colonies to Great Britain previous to the late rupture; a preference equalled only by their antipathy to the French nation, which was so

* The reader of these pages will be prepared to sift the truth from the poetry contained in this very interesting sketch, so that it would be quite superfluous to enter into extended dissertations here.

powerful as to induce the baron to consider it, as he called it, instinctive.

Just before the peace our incognitus, becoming suspected, was arrested; and for a few days he was imprisoned. On examination of his baggage and papers nothing could be found confirming the suspicion which had induced his arrest, and he was discharged. Such discovery was not practicable, as during his tour, the baron himself declared that he relied entirely upon his memory, which was singularly strong, never venturing to commit to paper the information of others or his own observations. On the restoration of peace the baron returned to Europe, and came once more to America in 1777 or 1778, recommended to Congress as an experienced soldier worthy of confidence. A brigadier in the service of France, he was honored by Congress with the rank of major-general and repaired to the main army, in which he served at the head of the Maryland division, very much respected. Possessing a stout frame, with excellent health, no officer was more able to encounter the toils of war. Moderate in mental powers, as in literary acquirements, he excelled chiefly in practical knowledge of men and things, gained during a long life by close and accurate investigations of the cause and effects of passing events. We all know that the court of France has been uniformly distinguished by its superior address and management in diving into the secrets of every nation, whether friend or foe, with whom it has relations. The business of espionage has been brought in France to a science, and a regular trained corps, judiciously organized, is ever in the service of the court. Of this body there is strong reason to believe that the baron was a member, and probably one of the chief confidants of that government in the United States. No man was better qualified for the undertaking. He was sober, drinking water only, abstemious to excess, living on bread, sometimes on beef-soup, at other times with cold beef; industrious, it being his constant habit to rise at five in the morning, light his candles, devote himself to writing, which was never intermitted during the day but when interrupted by short meals or by attention to his official duty, and profoundly secret. He wrote in hieroglyphics, not upon sheets of paper as is customary in camps, but in large folio books, which were carefully preserved, waiting to be transmitted to his unknown correspondent whenever a safe opportunity might offer. He betrayed an unceasing jealousy lest his journals and his mystic dictionary might be perused, and seemed to be

very much in dread of losing his baggage, which in itself was too trifling to be regarded, and would only have attracted such unvarying care from the valuable paper deposit. He never failed to direct his quartermaster to place him as near the centre of the army as was allowable, having an utter aversion to be in the vicinity of either flank lest an adventuring partisan should carry off his baggage. What became of his journals is not known, but very probably he did not venture to take them into South Carolina; what is most probable, he placed such as remained in the hands of the French minister for transmission to Paris when he was ordered to the South. If he continued to write, when marching to South Carolina, his progress must have been slow, as he was necessarily much engaged in the duties of his command, which became multiplied by the extreme difficulty with which subsistence was procurable. Whether his baggage was captured is not known to me; but it cannot be doubted that his papers did not fall into the hands of the enemy; as in such event we should probably have heard not only of the fact but also of their contents. No man surpassed this gentleman in simplicity and condescension, which gave to his deportment a cast of amiability extremely ingratiating, exciting confidence and esteem. Although nearer seventy than sixty years of age, such had been the temperance of his life that he not only enjoyed to the last day the finest health, but his countenance still retained the bloom of youth, which circumstance very probably led to the error committed by those who drew up the inscription on the monument erected by order of Congress. This distinguished mark of respect was well deserved.

XIX.

KALB'S PROPOSAL TO CONGRESS,

(written by Kalb himself and found among the papers appertaining to Silas Deane).

Le Baron de Kalb being advised by some Generals of the highest reputation, and by several other noblemen of the first rank in this realm, to serve the cause of liberty in America, he accordingly offers his services to the most honorable Congress on the following terms:

1. To be made a Major General of the American troops at the appointments of the Major Generals in that service, with all other perquisites belonging to that rank, besides a particular sum to be allowed to him annually, which he will not determine, but rely on it

for the Congress, hoping they will consider the difference there is between their own countrymen, who are in duty bound to defend their all, and a foreigner who, out of his own accord, offers his time, sets aside his family affairs to hazard his life for the American liberties. The said appointment to begin from this day, November the seventh, 1776.

2. That Mr. Deane will furnish him presently, & before embarking with a sum of twelve thousand livres french-money, namely: 6,000 to be considered and given as a gratification for the necessary expenses attending such an errand, and th' other 6,000 as an advance upon his appointment.

3. That Capt. Dubois Martin and another Gentleman whom Le Baron de Kalb shall nominate in time, may be agreed as Majors to be his aids de camp, at the appointment of American officers of the same Rank, and the sum of 3,000, or at least 2,600 be paid to each of them presently, or before embarking, the half of which as a gratification, & th' other half as an advance, the said appointments beginning too from this day.

4. That in case the Peace was made at their landing in America, or that the Congress would not grant these demands, and ratify the present agreement, or that the Baron de Kalb himself should on any other account, & at any time incline to return to Europe, that he be allowed to do so, and besides be furnished with a sufficient sum of money for the expenses of his coming back.

On the above conditions I engage and promise to serve the American States to the utmost of my abilities; to acknowledge the authority and every act of the most honorable Congress; be faithfull to the country as if my own; obey to superiors committed by that lawful power, and be, from this very day, at the disposal of Mr. Deane for my embarkation, and in such a vessel and harbour as he shall think fit. Witness my hand, in Paris, November the seventh, in the year one thousand seven hundred seventy-six.

DE KALB.

Recd. of Silas Deane, at Paris, Novr. 22d, 1776, Sixteen Thousand Eight Hundred Livs. on acct. of the above.

N. B. Paid 8,800 in cash.

—— 8,000 by a Bill on Messrs. Delaps.

XX.

KALB TO SILAS DEANE.

(From "The Magazine of American History", Vol. IX, p. 384.)

ON BOARD THE SHIP LA VICTOIRE
AT THE PASSAGE*) IN SPAIN.
17. *April*, 1777.

SIR: — I had the honour of writing to you four days ago in a sad mood of mind, about all the difficulties which seemed to obstruct M. Le Marquis de la Fayette's generous designs; as I made you a partaker of bad news, I think it a piece of justice to impart to you a good one. The Marquis guessing by all the letters he received, that the Ministers granted and issued orders to stop his sailing, out of mere compliance with the requests of M. Le Duc d'Ayens, and that in reality neither the King nor any body else could be angry with [him], for so noble an Enterprise, he took upon him to come here again and to pursue his measures. He arrived this morning nine of the clock to the great comfort of all his fellow Passengers. M. de Mauroy arrived at the same time. So we shall put out to sea again by the first wind, and strive to get to the Continent directly as much as possible. All these Gentlemen present you with their most sincere Compliments and good wishes.

I wrote to M. le Comte de Broglie as well as to Mad. de Kalb, if they had any letters to send to me, before I could give them an account of myself after arrival at your army, to put them under cover, directed to Mr. Sam. Shoemaker at Philadelphia, and desire you to get them over when opportunities will offer. I depend on this and all other occasions on your goodness and friendship, to which and Mr. Carmichaels I recommend myself particularly and am with all possible respect, Honoured Sir, your most etc. DE KALB.

This letter will go by the to-morrow's Post, but you shall hear from me the day of our putting under sail.

The Marquis charges me peculiarly to acquaint you that his fear of involving you in some disagreeable dilemma and of doing hurt to our friends interest at the French court, was what determined him most to comply with the Kings orders and to go back to Bordeaux; being willing to fall alone a sacrifice to resentment and make nobody share his misfortune, as long as he could believe these orders serious, and that it is only since he is sure of you and your causes security he assumed anew his most darling project.

*) LOS PASAGES

XXI.

DE KALB, GATES AND THE CAMDEN CAMPAIGN.

(From "The Magazine of American History", Vol. VIII, Part. II, p. 496 ff. N. Y., 1882, A. S. Barnes & Co.

The publication of the correspondence and orders of General Gates, bearing upon the battle of Camden, and the vigorous defence of that officer by Mr. Stevens, which appeared in the October Number of the Magazine for 1880, invite a restudy of that disastrous campaign. A fresh fact is brought out in a letter from Lord Rawdon, published in the Third Report of the British Historical Manuscript Commission, which revives the point whether Gates did not make a mistake in declining to attack the British at Little Lynch's Creek, on or about August 10th. Rawdon, then in command, had taken post on the southern bank of the stream, and was known to have a force inferior in numbers to that of the Americans. His position, on the other hand, was naturally strong. Tarleton, in his account of the campaign, claims that Gates ought immediately to have moved up the creek, crossed it above, marched directly to Camden, and compelled Rawdon to meet him at a disadvantage, or abandon the place. Bancroft says on this point: „By a forced march up the stream Gates could have turned Rawdon's flank and made an easy conquest of Camden." Johnson, in his life of Greene, takes substantially the same view. In Rawdon's letter referred to, we now have the statement that De Kalb did actually urge an attack upon the enemy at the creek. The communication is from the English general to his mother, the Countess of Moira, and the material part, explaining why he declined to fight Gates before Cornwallis arrived, runs as follows:

"CAMP NEAR TWELVE MILE CREEK,
"ON THE FRONTIER OF NORTH CAROLINA, *Sept.* 19, 1780.

"— — — Had I thought the tinsel of unweighed applause an object superior to the consciousness of having acted right, I should have given Mr. Gates battle whilst the command remained with me. It was in my power; I had fair prospect of success; the reputation to be attained was great; and if I was beaten there would have been credit in making a bold attempt, for the failure of which the disparity of force would have been a sufficient apology. But I felt that the step would be false; for, by maintaining the conduct which I pursued, I was certain

of forcing the enemy either to retire across the Pedee, to attack me upon terms almost hopeless for them, or to take the ruinous part which they actually did embrace.

"De Kalb, who was a good officer, saw so clearly the consequences of reducing their attacks to one point, and thereby enabling me to unite my detachements, that he strenuously advised Gates to pass Lynches Creek and fight me, at all events: this was related to me by De Kalb's aid-de-camp (a relation of the M. de la Fayette), who was made prisoner. Gates rejected the advice, threw himself across the country into the other road above Hanging Rock Creek, and gave us three days to prepare to meet him, in a country likewise very favorable for us.

"Since that action the sickness of the troops, added to want of provisions and almost every kind of stores has detained us inactive. We are now in march towards Hillsborough, where Gates has collected a small body of militia. At present there is no prospect of serious opposition, but I cannot believe that the Congress will not make an effort to stop the advance of our successes. We have reason to hope that we shall be joined by the greater part of the North Carolinians, who have certainly given strong proofs of faithful attachement to us..... It is now ten weeks since we have heard from New York ..... You must have been astonished at our warfare here after the representations which we perceive were made to you respecting the loyalty and peaceable state of His Majesty's Province of South Carolina."

The aid who gave the information Rawdon refers to, was Chevalier Dubuysson, holding the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel, and the same who is commonly represented as preventing his general from being put to death on the field at Camden. Whether De Kalb meant that Gates should attack Rawdon directly in front or cross at a more favorable point and fight him as soon as possible, is not distinctly stated, but it is worth noticing that he did in effect propose what Tarleton, who was on the spot, was of opinion should be done, and what Rawdon himself impliedly admits to have been excellent advice. The point with De Kalb evidently was: Push the enemy and prevent the concentration of his forces. Friends of Gates will defend the course he took in marching around by way of Rugeley's Mills, by showing that the delay brought him a large reinforcement of Virginia Militia; but did it not also work in equal if not greater proportion to the enemy's advantage?

It is not to be inferred from his advice at Lynch's Creek, that De Kalb was aggressive in this campaign. No one can read Colonel Horry's quaint reminiscences in his Life of Marion, without observing how anxiously he deprecated Gates' extraordinary haste and rashness in pushing down toward the enemy from North Carolina. Horry, who acted as aid to De Kalb up to the battle of Camden, states on the weary march through the pine barrens, where "a forlorn hope of caterpillars" must have starved, the general "frequently foretold the ruin that would ensue". At Lynch's Creek he saw a possible advantage to be gained, and urged it; otherwise he constantly advised caution and better preparation, but Gates would take no counsel, unless in the last extremity, but his own.

XXII.

Kalb to Baron Holtzendorff in Paris.

A Petersburgh en Virginie, *le* 29 *May*, 1780.

Mon Cher Amy, Je n'ay pû attendre à Philadelphie l'arrivée de M. le Ms. de Lafayette, mais j'y ay laissé le Capt. Paskke, qui m'a prié de l'admettre à ma famille pendant ma marche au Sud, pour le voir et m'apporter mes lettres de France. Je viens donc de recevoir celle que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de m'écrire par luy le 1'er mars. J'eusse bien desiré pouvoir causer avec luy sur differents objets, s'il m'avoit été possible de reculer mon départ. L'on me presse d'arriver au secours de Charlestown et je rencontre des difficultés sans nombre dans ma marche, il semble que tout soit calculé pour s'opposer au bien du Service. J'ay à mes ordres les Troupes de Maryland, de Delaware, le Corps de Lee avec un Regt. d'artillerie et douze pièces de canons. L'on m'a promis une jonction de Milice de cet état cy et en Nord Caroline, mais la lenteur qu'on met en tout, ne me donne pas de grandes Espérances d'en obtenir ou de pouvoir les attendre: je feray partir demain et les jours suivans mes Troupes en Trois Divisions, si toutes fois l'on me donne les chariots dont j'ay besoin et qui me sont promis depuis longtems; avec toute la diligence que je pourray mettre dans ma marche. Il est possible que le sort de Charlestown soit décidé avant mon arrivée, car quoiqu'ils ayent été menacés depuis longtems d'un siege, que les Ennemies ayent été dans le Voisinage longtems avant d'avoir pû investir la place qu'on avoit par consequent du tems de reste pour l'approvisionner, malgré cela je crains qu'on ait negligé ce point si essentiel à une défense, et qu'on ne s'en soit occupé que quand il n'en étoit plus tems.

Le projet de débarquement en Angleterre a sans doute été abandonné entièrement? puisque M. de Lafayette qui étoit de cette armée là, est revenu icy. Cela surprend beaucoup de monde, on croit, qu'à moins qu'il ne soit chargé de quelque commission importante pour le Congrès, il ne seroit pas revenu en Amerique, et comme rien n'a transpiré jusqu'à present, cela donne lieu à diverses conjectures.

Vous dites donc que huit Régiments devoient s'embarquer en avril et cela peutètre pour H. — Mess. de Fleury et la Colombe écrivent qu'ils doivent revenir incessamment, ne seroient ils pas de la dernière Expedition?

Je suis faché de ce que vous me mandez de la mauvaise santé de Mad. de Holzendorff; je luy souhaite un parfait et prompt retablissement. Comme il est possible que Vous ne soyez pas à Paris à l'arrivée de cette lettre, elle sera pour Elle.

Vous me dites n'avoir reçû aucune de mes nouvelles depuis Xbre 1778. Je vous ay cependant écrit de Philadelphie au commencement de 1779 et plusieurs fois depuis, soit en réponse aux Votres soit autrement, peutêtre que mes lettres Vous parviendront encore? je vous ay marqué dans le tems que votre coffre s'est retrouvé et de la façon dont j'ay disposé, votre Portefeuille et la Veste sont chez le Docteur Phile pour être delivrés sur vôtre ordre. Le reste a été vendû à 1000 Dollars qui dans le tems étoient à dix pour un, par consequent valant 500 Livres de France, et j'ay laissé à Vôtre option cette somme ou un Billet d'Emprunt de 1000 Dollars que je m'en suis procuré, depuis ce tems les choses ont changées en prix. Soixante en Papier en donnent difficilement un en espèces actuellement, et les denrées et marchandises augmentent continuellement de prix. Tout coute le double, même en payant avec de l'or, de ce que les choses valoient il y a 18 mois. Ma marche va me couter des sommes immenses. Je ne puis pas me faire suivre par mon Equipage, et suis par consequent obligé de vivre en Routte dans les auberges ou d'autres maisons ou l'on paye également, même le logement. Ma solde de six mois suffit à peine pour un jour de depenses inévitables. Je voudrais bien être chez moy, ou ne m'être pas embarqué dans cette Galère.

J'ay été dirigé quelqu'un des jour passé sur ma Route de prendre mon Quartier dans une maison particulière pour une nuit. On m'y donna un mauvais soupé et pour boisson du Grog. Pourtant le matin sans dejeuner mon compte se montait pour quatre Maitres et trois Domestiques à 850 Dollars, et la maitresse de la Maison me dit poli-

ment qu'elle n'a vait rien mis pour le logement qu'elle le laisse à ma Discretion mais que 3 ou 400 Dollars ne seroient pas de trop pour l'Embarras qu'elle a eû avec ma famille. Ces gens prétendent qu'ils sacrifieroient tout pour la cause de leur Liberté. Tout est à proportion de cela, un cheval mediocre coute 20,000 Dollars, je dis Vingt mille.

Adieu mon cher amy, je suis avec le plus parfait et le plus sincère attachement, tout à Vous

LE BON. DE KALB.

XXIII.

[PUBLIC—No. 30.]

AN ACT to provide for the erection of a monument to the memory of Major General the Baron De Kalb.

Whereas, in October, seventeen hundred and eighty, the Congress of the United States passed the following resolution:

"IN CONGRESS, OCTOBER, 1780.

"Resolved, That a monument be erected to the memory of the late Major-General the Baron De Kalb, in the city of Annapolis, in the State of Maryland, with the following inscription:

"'Sacred to the memory of the Baron De Kalb, knight of the Royal Order of Military Merit, brigadier of the armies of France, and major-general in the service of the United States of America. Having served with honor and reputation for three years, he gave a last and glorious proof of his attachment to the liberties of mankind and the cause of America in the action near Camden, in the State of South Carolina, on the sixteenth of August, seventeen hundred and eighty, where, leading on the troops of the Maryland and Delaware lines against superior numbers, and animating them by his example to deeds of valor, he was pierced with many wounds, and on the nineteenth following expired, in the forty-eighth year of his age.

"'The Congress of the United States of America, in gratitude to his zeal, service, and merit, have erected this monument;'" Therefore,

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the sum of ten thousand dollars be, and the same is hereby, appropriated, out of any moneys in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated, for the purpose of erecting the monument authorized by the resolution of Congress above recited; and the Secretary of the State shall have the management and control of the erection of said monument.

Approved, February 19, 1883.

I.

John Leonard Kalb, resident and yeoman at Huettendorf, legitimate eldest son of Hans Kalb, yeoman at Leindorf near Altdorf. — and — **Margaret Kalb**, formerly Widow Puz of Huettendorf, maiden name Seiz of Eschenbach.

Married, April 24, 1715.

- **George Kalb**, born November 15, 1718, afterward yeoman at Stadeln near Fuerth.
- **John Kalb**, born June 29, 1721, died Aug. 19, 1780, at Camden, South Carolina.
- **Andrew Kalb**, born January 17, 1727, yeoman on the paternal homestead at Huettendorf.

Extracted from the parochial register of marriages, births, and baptisms.

Frauenaurach, July 31, 1860. Royal Bavarian Parsonage.

[L. S.] (Signed) Recknagel.

II.

Lieutenant-Colonel **Jean de Kalb**, Chevalier, son of the deceased John Leonard de Kalb, Lord of Huettendorf. — and — **Anna Elizabeth Emily van Robais**, daughter of Pierre van Robais and Suzanne, maiden name Gastebois of Courbevoye, near Paris.

Married April 10, 1764, at the Dutch Embassy in Paris.

- **Frédéric de Kalb**, born May 18, 1765, guillotined October, 1793, without issue.
- **Anna Maria Caroline de Kalb**, born May 25, 1767, married at Paris, Oct. 23, 1787, to the Swiss Captain, **Luke Geymueller**, and deceased January 24, 1829.
  - **Rudolph Theophile Geymueller**, born April 9, 1789, died between 1840 and 1850.
  - **Luc Geymueller**, born Nov. 13, 1792, and died 1846, leaving several children.
- **Elie de Kalb**, born March 9, 1769, died Sept. 7, 1835, both at Milon la Chapelle. — and — **Elise Signard**, born Jan. 19, 1768, and still living in 1855.

  married February 8, 1808.
  - **Theophile de Kalb**, born January, 1809, and died soon after.
  - **Leonore de Kalb**, born June 11, 1811, at Milon la Chapelle. — and — **Raymond de Vaudière**, Vicomte d'Alzac, born January 1. 1800.

    married June 26, 1828.

    Five sons of which marriage were still living in 1860.

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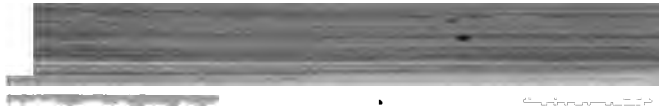
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